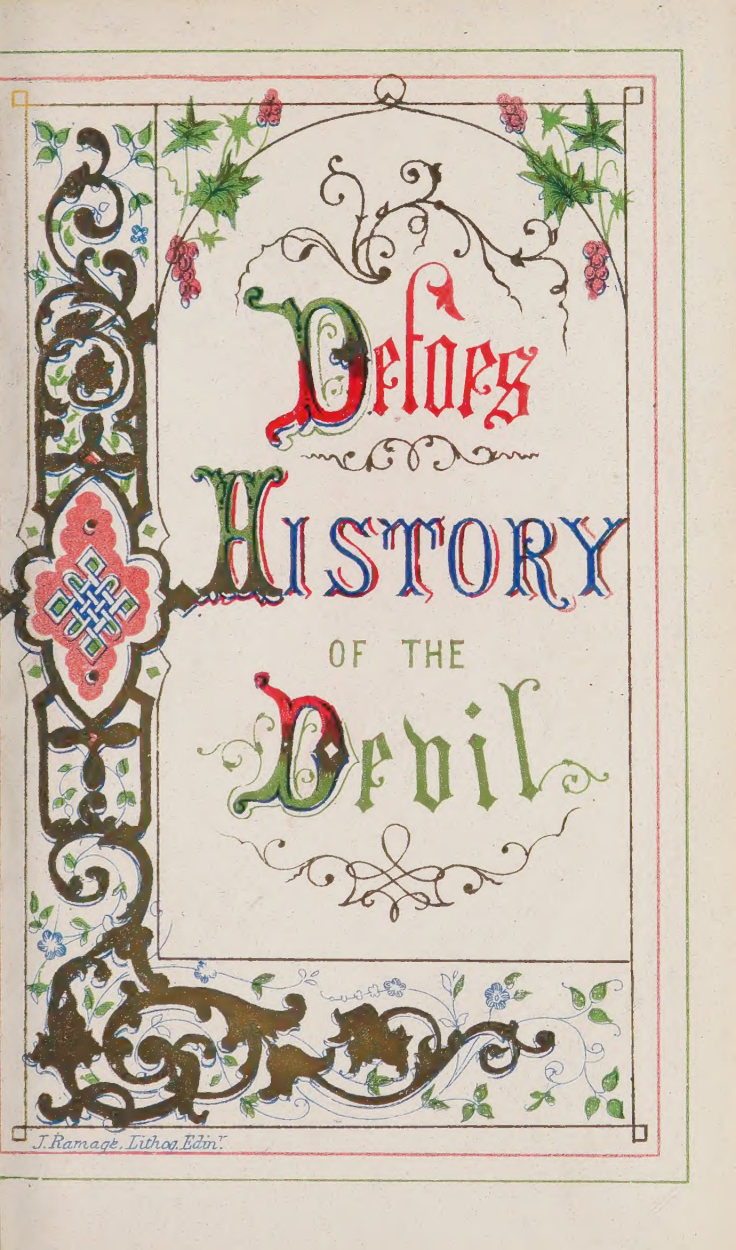
19904/A
N IV. C
18



D. R. Daniel




Defoes
HISTORY
OF THE
Devil
J. Ramage, Lithog. Edin.

87289

THE

HISTORY OF THE DEVIL,

ANCIENT AND MODERN.

IN TWO PARTS.

Bad as he is, the Devil may be abused,
Be falsely charg'd, and causelessly accused ;
When men unwilling to be blamed alone,
Shift off those crimes on him which are their own.

LONDON:
THOMAS ALLMAN, 42, HOLBORN HILL.

WELLCOME
HISTORICAL
MEDICAL
LIBRARY

D. R. DANIEL
FOUR CROSSES

London:
Printed by Lewis and Son, Finch-lane, Cornhill.

PREFACE.

THE subject of this work is singular, and it has been handled after a singular manner; the wise part of the world has been pleased with it, the merry part has been diverted with it, and the ignorant part has been taught by it; none but the malicious part of the world has been offended at it: who can wonder, then, that when the Devil is not pleased, his friends should be angry?

The strangest thing of all is, to hear Satan complain that the story is handled profanely; but who can think it strange that his advocates should be what he was from the beginning?

The author affirms, and he has good vouchers for it (in the opinion of such whose judgment passes with him for an authority), the whole tenor of the work is solemn, calculated to promote serious religion, and capable of being improved in a religious manner; but he does not think that we are bound never to speak of the Devil but with an air of terror, as if we were always afraid of him.

It is evident the Devil, as subtil and as frightful as he is, has acted the ridiculous and foolish part, as much as most of God's creatures, and daily does so: and he cannot believe it is any sin to expose him for a foolish Devil, as he his, or show him to the world that he may be laughed at.

Those who think the subject not handled with gravity enough, have all the room given them in the world to handle it better; and, as the author professes he is far from thinking his piece perfect, they ought not to be angry that he gives them leave to mend it.

He has had the satisfaction to please some readers, and to see good men approve it; for the rest, as my Lord Rochester says, in another case—

"He counts their censure fame."

As for a certain reverend gentleman, who is pleased gravely to dislike the work (he hopes rather for the author's sake than the Devil's) he only says, let the performance be how it will, and the author what he will, it is apparent he has not preached away all his hearers.

It is enough for me (says the author) that the Devil himself is not pleased with my work, and less with the design of it. Let the Devil, and all his fellow complainers, stand on one side; and the honest, well-meaning, charitable world, who approve of my work, on the other; and I will tell noses with Satan, if he dare.

CONTENTS.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

Page

Being an introduction to the whole work . . . 9

CHAPTER II.

Of the origin of the Devil; who he is, what he was before his expulsion out of Heaven, and in what state he was from that time to the creation of man 20

CHAPTER III.

Of the name of the Devil, his origin, and the nature of his circumstances since he has been called by that name 26

CHAPTER IV.

Of the station Satan had in Heaven before he fell; the nature and origin of his crime; and some of Mr. Milton's mistakes about it 48

CHAPTER V.

What became of the Devil and his host of fallen spirits, after their being expelled from Heaven; and his wandering condition till the creation; with some more of Mr. Milton's absurdities on the subject 60

CHAPTER VI.

Page

Of the number of Satan's host; how they came first to know of the new created worlds now in in being; and their measures with mankind upon the discovery 67

CHAPTER VII.

Of the power of the Devil at the time of the creation of this world; whether it has not been farther straitened and limited since that time; and what shifts and stratagems he is obliged to make use of to compass his designs upon mankind . 75

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the progress of Satan in carrying on his conquest over mankind, from the fall of Eve to the deluge. 89

CHAPTER IX.

Of the Devil's second kingdom; and how he got footing in the renewed world by his victory over Noah, and his race 105

CHAPTER X.

Of God's calling a church out of the midst of a degenerate world; and of Satan's new measures upon that incident; how he attacked them immediately, and his success in those attacks . . 130

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

Page

The introduction 160

CHAPTER II.

Of Hell as it is represented to us; and how the Devil is to be understood, as being personally in hell, when at the same we find him at liberty, ranging over the world 172

CHAPTER III.

Of the manner of Satan's acting and carrying on his affairs in the world; and particularly of his ordinary workings in the dark, by possession and agitation 180

CHAPTER IV.

Of Satan's agents or missionaries and their actings upon and in the minds of men, in his name . . 189

CHAPTER V.

Of the Devil's management in the Pagan hierarchy, by omens, entrails, augurs, oracles, and such like pageantry of hell; and how they went off the stage at last by the introduction of true religion 205

CHAPTER VI.

Of the extraordinary appearance of the Devil, and particularly of the cloven foot 222

CHAPTER VII.

Page

Whether it is most hurtful to the world, the Devil walking about without his cloven foot, or the cloven foot walking about without the Devil . 236

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the cloven foot walking about the world without the Devil; viz., of witches making bargains for the Devil; and particularly of selling souls to the Devil 265

CHAPTER IX.

Of the tools the Devil works with, viz., witches, wizards, warlocks, conjurors, magicians, diviners, astrologers, interpreters of dreams, tellers of fortunes, and above all the rest, his particular modern privy counsellors, called wits and fools 286

CHAPTER X.

Of the various methods the Devil takes to converse with mankind 296

CHAPTER XI.

Of divination, sorcery, the black art, paw-wawing, and such like pretenders to devilism; and how far the Devil is, or is not, concerned in them . 318

THE CONCLUSION.

Of the Devil's last scene of liberty, and what may be supposed to be his end; with what we are to understand of his being tormented for ever and ever 342

THE

ANCIENT HISTORY

OF

THE DEVIL.

CHAPTER I.

Being an Introduction to the whole Work.

I DOUBT not but the title of this book will amuse some of my reading friends a little; at first they will make a pause, perhaps, as they do at a witch's prayer, and be some time a resolving whether they will look into it or no, lest they should really raise the Devil, by reading his story.

Children and old women have told themselves so many frightful things of the Devil, and have formed ideas of him in their minds, in so many horrible and monstrous shapes, that really it was enough to fright the Devil himself to meet himself in the dark, dressed up in the several figures which imagination has formed for him in the minds of men; and, as for themselves, I cannot think by any means that the Devil would terrify them half so much, if they would converse face to face with him.

It must certainly therefore be a most useful undertaking, to give the true history of this tyrant of the air, this god of this world, this terror and aversion of mankind, which we call Devil, to show what he *is*, and what he *is not;* where he *is*, and where he *is not;* when he is *in us*, and when he *is not;* for I cannot doubt but that the Devil is really, and *bona fide*, in a great many of our honest weak-headed friends, when they themselves know nothing of the matter.

Nor is the work so difficult as some may imagine. The Devil's history is not so hard to come at, as it seems to be; his original and the first rise of his family is upon record; and, as for his conduct, he has acted indeed in the dark, as to his method, in many things; but in general, as cunning as he is, he has been fool enough to expose himself in some of the most considerable transactions of his life, and has not shown himself a politician at all. Our old friend Machiavel outdid him in many things, and I may in the process of this work give an account of several of the sons of Adam, and some societies of them too, who have outwitted the Devil, nay, who have out-sinned the Devil, and that I think may be called out-shooting him in his own bow.

It may perhaps be expected of me in this history, that since I seem inclined to speak favourably of Satan, to do him justice, and to write his story impartially, I should take some pains to tell you what religion he is of; and even this part may not be so much a jest, as at first sight you may take it to be; for Satan has something of religion in him, I can assure you; nor is he such an unprofitable Devil that way as some may suppose him to be; for though, in reverence to my brethren, I will not reckon him among the clergy, no, not so much as a gifted brother, yet I cannot deny but that he often preaches, and if it be not profitable to his hearers, it is as much their fault as it is out of his design.

It has indeed been suggested, that he has taken orders; and that a certain pope, famous for being an extraordinary favourite of his, gave him both institu-

tion and induction; but as this is not upon record, and therefore we have no authentic document for the probation, I shall not affirm it for a truth, for I would not slander the Devil.

It is said also, and I am apt to believe it, that he was very familiar with that holy father Pope Silvester II., and some charge him with personating Pope Hildebrand on an extraordinary occasion, and himself sitting in the chair apostolic, in a full congregation; and you may hear more of this hereafter; but as I do not meet with Pope Diabolus among the list, in all father Platina's lives of the popes, so I am willing to leave it as I find it.

But to speak to the point, and a nice point it is I acknowledge, namely, what religion the Devil is of; my answer will indeed be general, yet not at all ambiguous; for I love to speak positively, and with undoubted evidence.

1. He is a believer. And if in saying so it should follow that even the Devil has more religion than some of our men of fame can at this time be charged with, I hope my Lord ——, and his Grace the —— of ——, and some of the upper class in the red hot club, will not wear the coat, however well it may fit to their shapes; or challenge the satire, as if it were pointed at them, because it is due to them. In a word, whatever their lordships are, I can assure them that the Devil is no infidel.
2. He fears God. We have such abundant evidence of this in sacred history, that if I were not at present, in common with a few others, talking to an infidel sort of gentleman, with whom these remote things called Scriptures are not allowed in evidence, I might say it was sufficiently proved; but I doubt not in the process of this undertaking to show, that the Devil really fears God, and that after another manner than ever he feared Saint Francis or Saint Dunstan; and if that be proved, as I take upon me to advance, I shall leave it to judgment, who is the

better Christian, the Devil who believes and trembles, or our modern gentry of ——, who believe neither God nor Devil.

Having thus brought the Devil within the pale, I shall leave him among you for the present; not but that I may examine in its order who has the best claim to his brotherhood, the Papists or the Protestants; and among the latter the Lutherans or the Calvinists; and so descending to all the several denominations of the churches, see who has less of the Devil in them, and who more; and whether less or more, the Devil has not a seat in every synagogue, a pew in every church, a place in every pulpit, and a vote in every synod; even from the sanhedrim of the Jews, to our friends at the Bull and Mouth, &c., from the greatest to the least.

It will, I confess, come very much within the compass of this part of my discourse, to give an account, or at least to make an essay towards it, of the share the Devil has had in the spreading of religion in the world; and especially of dividing and subdividing opinions in religion; perhaps, to eke out, and make it reach the further; and also to show how far he is or has made himself missionary of the famous clan *de propaganda fide;* it is true we find him heartily employed in almost every corner of the world, *ad propagandum errorum;* but that may require a history by itself.

As to his propagating religion, is a little hard indeed at first sight, to charge the Devil with propagating religion, that is to say, if we take it literally and in the gross; but if you take it as the Scots insisted to take the oath of infidelity, viz., with an explanation, it is plain Satan has very often had a share in the method, if not in the design, of propagating the Christian faith. For example:—

I think it no injury at all to the Devil to say that he had a great hand in the old holy war, as it was ignorantly and enthusiastically called; stirring up the Christian princes and powers of Europe to run a madding after the Turks and Saracens, and make war with

those innocent people above a thousand miles off, only because they entered into God's heritage when he had forsaken it, grazed upon his ground when he had fairly turned it into a common, and laid open for the next comer; spending their nation's treasure and embarking their kings and people (I say) in a war above a thousand miles off, filling their heads with that religious madness, called in those days holy zeal, to recover the *terra sancta*, the sepulchres of Christ and the saints, and as they called falsely the Holy City, though true religion says it was the accursed city, and not worth spending one drop of blood for.

This religious bubble was certainly of Satan, who, as he craftily drew them in, so like a true devil he left them in the lurch when they came there, faced about to the Saracens, animated the immortal Saladin against them, and managed so dexterously, that he left the bones of about thirteen thousand Christians there, as a trophy of his infernal politics. And after the Christian world had run *a la santa terra*, or in English, a sauntering about a hundred years, he dropped it to play another game less foolish, but ten times more wicked than that which went before it; namely, turning the crusades of the Christians one against another; and as Hudibras said in another case:—

> "Make them fight like mad or drunk,
> For Dame Religion as for punk."

Of this you have a complete account in the history of the pope's decrees against the Count de Toulouse, and the Waldenses and Albigenses, with the crusades and massacres which followed upon them; wherein, to do the Devil's politics some justice, he met with all the success he could desire. The zealots of that day executed his infernal orders most punctually, and planted religion in those countries in a glorious and triumphant manner, upon the destruction of an infinite number of innocent people, whose blood has fattened the soil for

the growth of the Catholic faith, in a manner very particular, and to Satan's full satisfaction.

I might, to complete this part of the history, give you the detail of his progress in these first steps of his alliances with Rome, and add a long list of massacres, wars, and expeditions in behalf of religion, which he has had the honour to have a visible hand in; such as the Parisian massacre, the Flemish war under the Duke d'Alva, the Smithfield fires in the Marian days in England, and the massacres in Ireland; all which would most effectually convince us that the Devil has not been idle in his business; but I may meet with these again in my way, it is enough while I am upon the generals only, to mention them thus in a summary way; I say it is enough to prove that the Devil has really been as much concerned as anybody in the methods taken by some people for propagating the Christian religion in the world.

Some have rashly, and I had almost said maliciously charged the Devil with the great triumphs of his friends the Spaniards in America, and would place the conquests of Mexico and Peru to credit of his account.

But I cannot join with them in this at all. I may say, I believe the Devil was innocent in that matter; my reason is, because Satan was never such a fool as to spend his time or his politics, or embark his allies, to conquer nations who were already his own; that would be Satan against Beelzebub, a making war against himself, and at least doing nothing to the purpose.

If they should charge him, indeed, with deluding Philip II. of Spain into that preposterous attempt called *the Armada Anglice* (the Spanish invasion) I should indeed more readily join with them; but whether he did it weakly, in hope, which was indeed not likely, that it would succeed; or wickedly, to destroy that great fleet of the Spaniards, and draw them within the reach of his dominions, the elements; this being a question that authors differ exceedingly about, I shall leave it to decide itself.

But the greatest piece of management which we find

the Devil has concerned himself in of late, in the matter of religion, seems to be that of his mission into China, and here indeed Satan has acted his masterpiece. It was, no doubt, much for his service that the Chinese should have no insight into matters of religion, I mean that we call Christian; and therefore, though Popery and the Devil are not at so much variance as some may imagine, yet he did not think it safe to let the general system of Christianity be heard of among them in China. Hence, when the name of the Christian religion had but been received with some seeming approbation, in the country of Japan, Satan immediately, as if alarmed at the thing, and dreading what the consequence of it might be, armed the Japanese against it with such fury, that they expelled it at once.

It was much safer to his designs when, if the story be not a fiction, he puts that Dutch witticism into the mouths of the states' commanders, when they came to Japan; who having more wit than to own themselves Christians in such a place as that, when the question was put to them, answered negatively that they were not; but that they were of another religion, called Hollanders.

However, it seems the diligent Jesuits outwitted the Devil in China, and, as I said above, overshot him in his own bow; for the mission being in danger, by the Devil and the Chinese Emperor's joining together, of being wholly expelled there too, as they had been in Japan, they cunningly fell in with the ecclesiastics of the country, and joining the priestcraft of both religions together, they brought Jesus Christ and Confucius to be so reconcilable, that the Chinese and Roman idolatry appeared capable of a confederacy, of going on hand in hand together; and consequently of being very good friends.

This was a masterpiece indeed, and, as they say, almost frightened Satan out of his wits; but he being a ready manager, and particularly famous for serving himself of the rogueries of the priests, faced about immediately to the mission, and making a virtue of necessity,

clapped in, with all possible alacrity, with the proposal; so the Jesuits and he formed a hotch-potch of religion, made up of Popery and Paganism, and calculated to leave the latter rather worse than they found it, blending the faith of Christ and the philosophy or morals of Confucius together, and formally christening them by the name of religion; by which means the politic interest of the mission was preserved; and yet Satan lost not one inch of ground with the Chinese, no, not by the planting the gospel itself, such as it was, among them.

Nor has it been such disadvantage to him, that this plan or scheme of a new-modelled religion would not go down at Rome, and that the Inquisition damned it with bell, book and candle. Distance of place served his new allies, the missionaries, in the stead of a protection from the Inquisition; and now and then a rich present, well placed, found them friends in the congregation itself; and where any nuncio, with his impudent zeal, pretended to take such a long voyage to oppose them, Satan took care to get him sent back, *re infecta*, or inspired the mission to move him off the premises, by methods of their own; that is to say, being interpreted, to murder him.

Thus the mission has in itself been truly devilish, and the Devil has interested himself in the planting the Christian religion in China.

The influence the Devil has in the politics of mankind is another especial part of his history, and would require, if it were possible, a very exact description; but here we shall be necessarily obliged to inquire so nicely into the arcana of circumstances, and unlock the cabinets of state in so many courts, canvass the councils of ministers, and the conduct of princes so fully, and expose them so much, that it may perhaps make a combustion among the great politicians abroad; and in doing that, we may come so near home too, that though personal safety and prudentials forbid our meddling with our country, we may be taken in a double *entendre*, and fall unpitied, for being only suspected of touching truths that

are so tender, whether we are guilty or no. On these accounts, I must meddle the less with that part at least for the present.

Be it that the Devil has had a share in some of the late councils of Europe, influencing them this way or that way to his own advantage. What is it to us? For example: What if he had any concern in the late affair of Thorn? What need we put it upon him, seeing his confederates the Jesuits, with the assyssorial tribunal of Poland, take it upon themselves? I shall leave that part to the issue of time. I wish it were as easy to persuade the world that he had no hand in bringing the injured Protestants to leave the justice due to the cries of Protestant blood, to the arbitrement of Popish power. Who dare say that the Devil must be in it, if justice should be obtained that way? I should rather say, the Devil is in it, or else it would never be expected.

It occurs next to inquire from the premises, whether the Devil has more influence or less in the affairs of the world now than he had in former ages? and this will depend upon comparing, as we go along, his methods and way of working in past times, and the modern politics by which he acts in our days, with the different reception which he has met with among the men of such distant ages.

But there is so much to inquire of about the Devil, before we can bring his story down to our modern times, that we must for the present let them drop, and look a little back to the remote parts of this history, drawing his picture, that people may know him when they meet him, and see who and what he is, and what he has been doing ever since he got leave to act in the high station he now appears in.

In the meantime, if I might obtain leave to present an humble petition to Satan, it should be, that he would, according to modern usage, oblige us all with writing the history of his own times? it would, as well as one that is gone before it, be a devilish good one; for, as to the sincerity of the performance, the authority of the

particulars, the justice of the characters, &c., if they were no better vouched, no more consistent with themselves, with charity, with truth, and with the honour of an historian, than the last of that kind which came abroad among us, it must be a reproach to the Devil himself to be the author of it.

Were Satan to be brought under the least obligation to write truth, and that the matters of fact which he should write might be depended upon, he is certainly qualified by his knowledge of things to be a complete historian; nor could the bishop himself, who, by the way, has given us already the devil of an history, come up to him. Milton's Pandemonium, though an excellent dramatic performance, would appear a mere trifling sing-song business, beneath the dignity of Chevy Chace. The Devil could give us a true account of all the civil wars in heaven; how, and by whom, and in what manner, he lost the day there, and was obliged to quit the field; the fiction of his refusing to acknowledge and submit to the Messiah, upon his being declared generalissimo of the heavenly forces, which Satan expected himself, as the eldest officer; and his not being able to brook another to be put in over his head; and I say, that fine-spun thought of Mr. Milton would appear to be strained too far, and only serve to convince us that he (Milton) knew nothing of the matter. Satan knows very well that the Messiah was not declared to be the Son of God with power till by and after the resurrection from the dead; and that all power was then given him in heaven and earth, and not before; so that Satan's rebellion must derive from other causes, and upon other occasions, as he himself can doubtless give us an account if he thinks fit, and of which we shall speak further in this work.

What a fine history might this old gentleman write of the antediluvian world, and of all the weighty affairs, as well of state as of religion, which happened during the fifteen hundred years of the patriarchal administration.

Who, like him, could give a full and complete account

of the deluge, whether it was a mere vindictive, a blast from heaven, wrought by a supernatural power in the way of miracle, or whether, according to Mr. Burnett's theory, it was a consequence following antecedent causes by the mere necessity of nature, seen in constitution, natural position, and unavoidable working of things, as by the theory published by that learned enthusiast it seems to be? Satan would easily account for the difficulties of the theory, and tell us whether, as there was a natural necessity of the deluge, there is not the like necessity and natural tendency to a conflagration at last.

Would the Devil exert himself as an historian, for our improvement and diversion, how glorious an account could he give of Noah's voyage round the world in the famous ark! He could resolve all the difficulties about the building it, the furnishing it, and the laying up the provision in it for all the collections of kinds that he had made; he could tell us whether all the creatures came voluntarily to him to go into the ark, or whether he went a hunting for several years before in order to bring them together.

He could give us a true relation how he wheedled the people of the next world into the absurd ridiculous undertaking of building a Babel; how far that stupendous staircase, which was in imagination to reach unto heaven, was carried before it was interrupted, and the builders confounded; how their speech was altered, how many tongues it was divided into, or whether they were divided at all; and how many subdivisions or dialects have been since that, by which means very few of God's creatures, except the brutes, understand one another, or care one farthing whether they do or not.

In all these things, Satan, who no doubt would make a very good chronologist, could settle every epoch, correct every calendar, and bring all our accounts of time to a general agreement; as well as the Grecian Olympiades, the Turkish Heghira, the Chinese fictitious account of the world's duration, as our blind Julian and

Gregorian accounts, which have put the world to this day into such confusion, that we neither agree in our holidays or working days, fasts or feasts, nor keep the same Sabbaths in any part of the same globe.

This great antiquary could bring us to a certainty in all the difficulties of ancient story, and tell us whether the siege of Troy and the rape of Helen was a fable of Homer or an history; whether the fictions of the poets are formed from their own brain, or founded on facts; and, whether letters were invented by Cadmus the Phœnician, or dictated immediately from heaven on Mount Sinai.

CHAPTER II.

Of the origin of the Devil, *who he is, and what he was before his expulsion out of heaven, and in what state he was from that time to the creation of man.*

To come to a regular inquiry into Satan's affairs, it is needful we should go back to his original, as far as history and the opinion of the learned world will give us leave.

It is agreed by all writers, as well sacred as profane, that this creature we now call a Devil was originally an angel of light, a glorious seraph; perhaps the choicest of all the glorious seraphs. See how Milton describes his original glory:—

"Satan, so call him now; his former name
Is heard no more in heaven; he of the first,
If not the first archangel; great in power,
In favour and pre-eminence."

Par. Lost, book v.

And again the same author upon the same subject:—

"Brighter once amidst the host
Of angels, than that star the stars among."

Par. Lost, book vii.

The glorious figure which Satan is supposed to make among the thrones and dominions in heaven, is such as we might suppose the highest angel in that exalted train could make; and some think as above, that he was the chief of the archangels.

Hence that notion (and not ill-founded); namely, that the first cause of his disgrace, and on which ensued his rebellion, was occasioned upon God's proclaiming his Son generalissimo, and with Himself supreme ruler in heaven; giving the dominion of all his works of creation, as well already finished as not then begun, to Him; which post of honour (say they) Satan expected to be conferred on himself, as next in honour, majesty and power, to God the supreme.

This opinion is followed by Mr. Milton too, as appears in the following lines, where he makes all the angels attending a general summons, and God the Father making the following declaration to them:—

"Hear all ye angels, progeny of light,
Thrones, dominions, princedoms, virtues, powers,
Hear my decree, which unrevoked shall stand.
This day I have begot whom I declare
My only Son; and on this holy hill
Have him anointed; whom ye now behold
At my right hand; your head I him appoint,
And by myself have sworn: to him shall bow
All knees in heaven, and shall confess him lord;
Under his great vicegerent reign abide
United, as one individual soul,
For ever happy; him who disobeys,
Me disobeys; breaks union; and that day
Cast out from God and blessed vision, falls
Into outer darkness, deep ingulf'd, his place
Ordain'd without redemption, without end."

Satan, affronted at the appearance of a new essence or being in heaven, called the Son of God; for God, says Milton (though erroneously) declared Himself at

that time, saying, *This day have I begotten Him*, and that He should be set up above all the former powers of heaven, of whom Satan (as above) was the chief, and expecting, if any higher post could be granted, it might be his due; I say, affronted at this, he resolved:—

"With all his legions to dislodge and leave
Unworshipp'd, unobey'd, the throne supreme
Contemptuous."

Par. Lost, book v.

But Mr. Milton is grossly erroneous in ascribing those words, *This day have I begotten Thee*, to that declaration of the Father before Satan fell, and consequently to a time before the creation; whereas it is by interpreters agreed to be understood of the incarnation of the Son of God, or at least of the resurrection. See Pool, upon Acts xiii. 33.

In a word, Satan withdrew with all his followers' malcontent and chagrin, resolved to disobey this new command, and not yield obedience to the Son.

But Mr. Milton agrees in that opinion, that the number of angels which rebelled with Satan was infinite, and suggests in one place that they were the greatest half of all the angel body or seraphic host.

"But Satan with his powers
An host
Innumerable as the stars of night,
Or stars of morning, dew-drops which the sun
Imperial on every leaf and every flower."

Par. Lost, book v.

Be this number as it is, numberless millions, and legions of miliions, that is no part of my present inquiry; Satan, the leader, guide, and superior, as he was the author of the celestial rebellion, is still the great head and master Devil as before; under his authority they still act, not obeying but carrying on the same insurrec-

tion against God which they began in heaven; making war still against heaven, in the person of his image and creature man; and though vanquished by the thunder of the Son of God, and cast down headlong from heaven, they have yet re-assumed, or rather not lost, either the will or the power of doing evil.

This fall of the angels, with the war in heaven which preceded it, is finely described by Ovid, in his war of the Titans against Jupiter; casting mountain upon mountain, and hill upon hill (Pelion upon Ossa) in order to scale the adamantine walls and break open the gates of heaven, till Jupiter struck them with his thunderbolts, and overwhelmed them in the abyss.—*Vide Ovid Metam.*, new translation, lib. i., p. 19.

"Nor were the gods themselves secure on high
For now the giants strove to storm the sky;
The lawless brood with bold attempts invade
The gods, and mountains upon mountains laid.
But now the bolt enraged, the father took;
Olympus from her deep foundations shook;
Her structure nodded at the mighty stroke,
And Ossa's shatter'd top o'er Pelion broke;
They're in their own ungodly ruin slain."

Then again, speaking of Jupiter resolving in council to destroy mankind by the deluge, and giving the reason of it to the heavenly host, says thus, speaking by the demi-gods, alluding to good men below:—

"Think you that they in safety can remain,
When me myself, who o'er immortals reign,
Who send the lightning, and heaven's empire sway
The stern Lycaon (*Satan*) practised to betray?"
Ovid Metam., lib. i., p. 10.

Since, then, so much poetic liberty is taken with the Devil, relating to his most early state, and the time before his fall, give me leave to make an excursion of

the like kind, relating to his history after the fall, and till the creation of man; an interval which I think much of the Devil's story is to be seen in, and which Mr. Milton has taken little notice of; at least it does not seem completely filled up; after which I shall return to honest prose again, and pursue the duty of an historian.

Satan, with hideous ruin thus suppress,
Expell'd the seat of blessedness and rest,
Look'd back, and saw the high eternal mound,
Where all his rebel host their outlet found
Restored impregnable; the breach made up,
And garrisons of angels ranged a-top;
In front a hundred thousand thunders roll,
And lightnings temper'd to transfix a soul.
Terror of devils. Satan and his host,
Now to themselves as well as station lost,
Unable to support the hated sight,
Expand seraphic wings, and swift as light
Seek for new safety in eternal night.
In the remotest gulfs of dark they land;
Here vengeance gives them leave to make their stand
Not that to steps and measures they pretend,
Councils and schemes their station to defend;
But broken, disconcerted, and dismay'd
By guilt and fright, to guilt and fright betray'd;
Rage and confusion every spirit possess'd,
And shame and horror swell'd in every breast;
Transforming envy their essentials burns,
And the bright angel a frightful devil turns.
Thus hell began; the fire of conscious rage
No years can quench, no length of time assuage.
Material fire, with its intensest flame,
Compared with this can scarce deserve a name;
How should it up to immaterials rise?
When we're all flame, we shall all fire despise.
This fire outrageous, and its heat intense,
Turns all the pain of loss to pain of sense;

The folding flames concave and inward roll,
Act upon spirit, and penetrate the soul;
Not force of devils can its new powers repel,
Where'er it burns it finds or makes a HELL;
For Satan, flaming with unquench'd desire,
Forms his own hell, and kindles his own fire.
Vanquish'd, not humbled, not in will brought low;
But, as his powers decline, his passions grow;
The malice, viper-like, takes vent within,
Gnaws its own bowels, and bursts in its own sin;
Impatient of the change, he scorns to bow,
And never impotent in power till now;
Ardent with hate, and with revenge distract,
A will to new attempts, but none to act;
Yet all seraphic, and in just degree
Suited to spirits' high sense of misery,
Derived from loss which nothing can repair,
And room for nothing left but mere despair.
Here's finish'd HELL! what fiercer fire can burn?
Enough ten thousand worlds to overturn.
HELL's but the frenzy of defeated pride,
Seraphic treason's strong impetuous tide,
Where vile ambition, disappointed first,
To its own rage and boundless hatred cursed;
The heat's fann'd up to fury, that to flame,
For fire and fury are in kind the same;
These burn unquenchable in every face,
And the word ENDLESS constitutes the place.
O state of being! where being's the only grief,
And the chief torture's to be damn'd for life!
O life! the only thing they have to hate;
The finish'd torment of a future state;
Complete in all the parts of endless misery,
And worse ten thousand times than not to BE!
Could but the damn'd the immortal law repeal,
And devils die, there'd be an end of hell;
Could they that thing call'd being annihilate,
There'd be no sorrows in a future state;

The wretch, whose crimes had shut him out on high,
Could be revenged on God himself, and die.
Job's wife was in the right; and always we
Might end by death all human misery:—
Might have it in our choice to be or not to be.

CHAPTER III.

Of the name of the Devil, his original and the nature of his circumstances, since he has been called by that name.

The Scripture is the first writing on earth where we find the Devil called by his own proper distinguishing denomination, *Devil*, or the destroyer; nor indeed is there any other author of antiquity, or of sufficient authority, which says anything of that kind about him.

Here he makes his first appearance in the world, and on that occasion he is called the Serpent; but the Serpent, however, since made to signify the Devil, when spoken of in general terms, was but the Devil's representative, or the Devil in *quovis vehiculo*, for that time clothed in a bodily shape, acting under cover, and in disguise, or, if you will, the Devil in masquerade. Nay, if we believe Mr. Milton, the angel Gabriel's spear had such a secret powerful influence, as to make him strip of a sudden, and with a touch to unmask, and stand upright in his naked original shape, mere Devil, without any disguise whatsoever.

Now, as we go to the Scripture for much of his history, so we must go there also for some of his names; and he has a great variety of names indeed, as his several mischievous doings guide us to conceive of him. The truth is, all the ancient names given him, of which the Scripture is full, seem to be originals derived from,

and adapted to, the several steps he has taken, and the several shapes he has appeared in, to do mischiefs in the world.

Here he is called the Serpent, Gen. iii. 1.
The Old Serpent, Rev. xii. 9.
The Great Red Dragon, Rev. xii. 3.
The Accuser of the Brethren, Rev. xii. 10.
The Enemy, Matt. xiii. 39.
Satan, Job i.; Zech. iii. 1, 2.
Belial, 2 Cor. vi. 15.
Beelzebub, Matt. xii. 24.
Mammon, Matt. vi. 24.
The Angel of Light, 2 Cor. xi. 14.
The Angel of the Bottomless Pit, Rev. ix. 11.
The Prince of the Power of the Air, Eph. ii. 2.
Lucifer, Isai. xiv. 12.
Abaddon or Apollyon, Rev. ix. 11.
Legion, Mark v. 9.
The God of this World, 2 Cor. iv. 4.
The Foul Spirit, Mark ix. 25.
The Unclean Spirit, Mark i. 27.
The Lying Spirit, 2 Chron. xxx.
The Tempter, Matt. iv. 3.
The Son of the Morning, Isai. xiv. 12.

But to sum them all up in one, he is called in the New Testament plain Devil. All his other names are varied according to the custom of speech, and the dialects of the several nations where he is spoken of; but, in a word, Devil is the common name of the Devil in all the known languages of the earth. Nay, all the mischiefs he is empowered to do are in Scripture placed to his account under the particular title of the Devil, not of devils in the plural number, though there are sometimes mentioned two; but in the singular, it is the identical individual Devil, in and under whom all the little devils, and all the great devils, if such there be, are supposed to act; nay, they are supposed to be go-

verned and directed by him. Thus we are told in Scripture of the works of the Devil, 1 John, iii. 8; of casting out the Devil, Mark i. 34; of resisting the Devil, James iv. 7; of our Saviour being tempted of the Devil, Matt. iv. 1; of Simon Magus, a child of the Devil, Acts xiii. 10; the Devil came down in great wrath, Rev. xii. 12, and the like. According to this usage of speech we go on to this day; and in all the infernal things we converse with in the world are fathered upon the Devil, as one undivided simple essence, by how many agents soever working. Everything evil is frightful in appearance, wicked in its actings, horrible in its manner, monstrous in its effects, is called the Devil; in a word, Devil is the common name for all devils, that is to say, for all evil spirits, all evil powers, all evil works, and all evil things; yet it is remarkable, the Devil is no Old Testament word; and we never find it used in all that part of the Bible but four times, and then not once in the singular number; and not once to signify Satan, as it is now understood.

It is true, the learned give a great many different interpretations of the word Devil. The English commentators tell us it means a destroyer; others, that it signifies a deceiver; and the Greeks derive it from *calumniator*, or false witness; for we find that Calumny was a goddess, to whom the Athenians built altars, and offered sacrifices, upon solemn occasions; and they called her *Diabule*, from whence came the masculine *Diabolus*, which we translate Devil.

Thus we take the name of Devil to signify not persons only, but actions and habits; making imaginary devils, and transforming that substantial creature, called Devil, into everything noxious and offensive. Thus St. Francis, being tempted by the Devil in the shape of a bag of money lying in the highway, and the saint having discovered the fraud, whether seeing his cloven foot hang out of the purse, or whether he distinguished him by his smell of sulphur, or how otherways, authors are not agreed; but I say, the saint having discovered the

cheat and outwitted the Devil, took occasion to preach that eminent sermon to his disciples, where his text was, "Money is the Devil."

Nor upon the whole, is any wrong done to the Devil by this kind of treatment; it only gives him the sovereignty of the whole army of hell; and, making all the numberless legions of the bottomless pit servants, or, as the Scriptures call them, angels to Satan the grand Devil, all their actions, performances and achievements are justly attributed to him, not as prince of devils only, but the emperor of devils—the prince of all the princes of devils.

Under this denomination then of Devil, all the powers of hell, all the princes of the air, all the black armies of Satan, are comprehended; and in such manner they are to be understood in this whole work, *mutatis mutandis*, according to the several circumstances of which we are to speak of them.

This being premised, and my authority so good, Satan must not take it ill if I treat him after the manner of men, and give him those titles which he is so well known by; for indeed, having so many, it is not very easy to call him out of his name.

However, as I am obliged, by the duty of an historian, to decency as well as impartiality, so I thought it necessary, before I used too much freedom with Satan, to produce authentic documents, and bring antiquity upon the stage, to justify the manner of my writing, and let you see I shall describe him in no other colours, nor call him by any name but what he has been known by for many ages before me.

And now, though writing to the common understanding of my readers, I am obliged to treat Satan very coarsely, and to speak of him in the common acceptation, calling him plain Devil, a word which, in this mannerly age, is not so sonorous as others might be, and which, by the error of the times, is apt to prejudice us against his person, yet it must be acknowledged he has a great many other names and surnames which he might be

known by, of a less noxious import than that of Devil or Destroyer, &c.

Mr. Milton, indeed, wanting titles of honour to give to the leaders of Satan's host, is obliged to borrow several of his Scripture names, and bestow them upon his infernal heroes, whom he makes the generals and leaders of the armies of hell; and so he makes Beelzebub, Lucifer, Belial, Mammon, and some others, to be the names of particular devils, members of Satan's upper house, or Pandemonium, whereas, indeed, these are all names proper and peculiar to Satan himself.

The Scripture also has some names of a coarser kind, by which the Devil is understood, as particularly, which is noted already, in the Apocalypse, he is called the Great Red Dragon, the Beast, the Old Serpent, and the like. But take it in the Scripture, or where you will in history, sacred or profane, you will find, that, in general, the Devil is, as I have said above, his ordinary name in all languages, and in all nations; the name by which he and his works are principally distinguished. Also the Scripture, besides that it often gives him this name, speaks of the works of the Devil, of the subtilty of the Devil, of casting out devils, of being tempted of the Devil, of being possessed with a devil; and so many other expressions of that kind, as I have said already, are made use of for us to understand the evil spirit by, that in a word, Devil is the Devil, as if he alone were so, and all the rest were the common name of all wicked spirits; for Satan is no more the Devil, as if he alone were so, and all the rest were a diminutive species who did not go by that name; but I say, even in Scripture, every spirit, whether under his dominion, or out of his dominion, is called the Devil; and is as much a real devil, that is to say, a condemned spirit, and employed in the same wicked work as Satan himself.

His name then being thus ascertained, and his existence acknowledged, it should be a little inquired what he is. We believe there is such a thing, such a creature as the Devil; and that he has been, and may

still, with propriety of speech, and without injustice to his character, be called by his ancient name—Devil.

But who is he? What is his original? Whence came he? And what is his present station and condition? For these things, and these inquiries, are very necessary to his history; nor indeed can any part of his history be complete without them.

That he is of an ancient and noble original must be acknowledged; for he is heaven-born, and of angelic race, as has been touched already. If Scripture evidence may be of any weight in the question, there is no room to doubt the genealogy of the Devil. He is not only spoken of as an angel, but as a fallen angel; one that had been in heaven, had beheld the face of God in his full effulgence of glory, and surrounded the throne of the Most High; from whence commencing rebel, and being expelled he was cast down, down, down, God and the Devil himself only know where: for, indeed, we cannot say that any man on earth knows it: and wherever he is, he has, ever since man's creation, been a plague to him; been a tempter, a deluder, a calumniator, and enemy, and the object of man's horror and aversion.

As his original is heaven-born, and his race angelic, so the angelic nature is evidently placed in a class superior to the human; and this the Scripture is express in also, when, speaking of man, it says, he made him a little lower than the angels.

Thus the Devil, as mean thoughts as ye may have of him, is of a better family than any of you; nay, than the best gentleman of you all. What ye may be fallen to is one thing; but what he is fallen from is another; and, therefore, I must tell my learned and reverend friend, J. W., LL.D., when he spoke so rudely of the Devil lately, that in my opinion he abused his betters.

Nor is the Scripture more an help to us in the search after the Devil's original, than it is in our search after his nature. It is true, authors are not agreed about his age, what time he was created, how many years he enjoyed his state of blessedness before he fell, or how

many years he continued with his whole army in the state of darkness, and before the creation of man. It is supposed he might be a considerable space; and that it was part of his punishment too, being all the while inactive, unemployed, having no business, nothing to do but gnawing his own bowels, and rolling in the agony of his own self-reproaches; being an hell to himself, in reflecting on the glorious state from whence he was fallen.

How long he remained thus, it is true, we have no light into from history, and but little from tradition. Rabb Judah says, the Jews were of opinion that he remained twenty thousand years in that condition; and that the world would continue twenty thousand more, in which he shall find work enough to satisfy his mischievous desires: but he shows no authority for his opinion.

Indeed, let the Devil have been as idle as they think he was before, it must be acknowledged, that now he is the most busy, vigilant, and diligent of all God's creatures, and very full of employment too, such as it is.

Scripture indeed gives us light into the enmity there is between the two natures, the diabolical and the human; the reason of it, and how and by what means the power of the Devil is restrained by the Messiah; and to those who are willing to trust to gospel light, and believe what the Scripture says of the Devil, there may much of his history be discovered; and, therefore, those that list may go there for a fuller account of the matter.

But to reserve all Scripture evidence of these things, as a magazine in store for the use of those with whom Scripture testimony is of force, I must, for the present, turn to other inquiries, being now directing my story to an age, wherein to be driven to revelation and Scripture assertions is esteemed giving up the dispute. People now a-days must have demonstration; and, in a word, nothing will satisfy the age, but such evidence as, perhaps, the nature of the question will not admit.

It is hard, indeed, to bring demonstrations in such a case as this. "No man has seen God at any time," says the Scripture, 1 John iv. 2. So the Devil, being a spirit incorporeal, an angel of light, and consequently not visible in his own substance, nature, and form, it may in some sense be said, No man hath seen the Devil at any time. All these pretences of frensical and fanciful people, who tell us they have seen the Devil, I shall examine, and, perhaps, expose by themselves.

It might take up a great deal of our time here to inquire, whether the Devil has any particular shape, or personality of substance, which can be visible to us, felt, heard, or understood, and which he cannot alter; and then, what shapes or appearances the Devil has at any time taken upon him; and whether he can really appear in a body which might be handled and seen, and yet so as to know it to have been the Devil at the time of his appearing; but this also I defer, as not of weight in the present inquiry.

We have divers accounts of witches conversing with the Devil, the Devil in a real body, with all the appearances of a body of a man or woman appearing to them: also of having a familiar, as they call it, an incubus or little Devil, which sucks their bodies, runs away with them into the air, and the like. Much of this is said; but much more than it is easy to prove; and we ought to give but a just proportion of credit to those things.

As to his borrowed shapes and his subtle transformings, that we have such open testimony of, that there is no room for any question about it; and when I come to that part, I shall be obliged rather to give a history of the fact, than enter into any dissertation upon the nature and reason of it.

I do not find, in any author whom we can call creditable, that even in those countries where the dominion of Satan is more particularly established, and where they may be said to worship him in a more particular manner as a Devil; which some tell us the Indians in America did, who worshipped the Devil, that he might not hurt

them: yet, I say, I do not find that even there the Devil appeared to them in any particular constant shape or personality peculiar to himself.

Scripture and history, therefore, giving us no light into that part of the question, I conclude, and lay it down, not as my opinion only, but as what all ages seem to concur in, that the Devil has no particular body; that he is a spirit; and that though he may, Proteus-like, assume the appearance of either man or beast, yet it must be some borrowed shape, some assumed figure, *pro hac vice:* and that he has no visible body of his own.

I thought it needful to discuss this as a preliminary, and that the next discourse might go upon a certainty in this grand point, namely, that the Devil, however he may, for his particular occasions, put himself into a great many shapes, and clothe himself, perhaps, with what appearances he pleases, yet that he is himself still a mere spirit, that he retains a seraphic nature, is not visible by our eyes, which are human and organic, neither can he act with the ordinary powers, or in the ordinary manner, as bodies do; and, therefore, when he has thought fit to descend to the meanness of disturbing and frightening children and old women, by noises and knockings, dislocating the chairs and stools, breaking windows, and such like little ambulatory things, which would seem to be below the dignity of his character, and which, in particular, are ordinarily performed by organic powers, yet even then, he has thought fit not to be seen, or rather to make the poor people believe he had a real shape and body, with hands to act, mouth to speak, and the like, than to give proof of it in common to the whole world, by showing himself, and acting visibly and openly, as a body usually does.

Nor is it any disadvantage, to the Devil, that his seraphic nature is not confined or imprisoned in a body or shape, suppose that shape to be what monstrous thing we would; for this would, indeed, confine

his actings within the narrow sphere of the organ or body to which he was limited: and though you were to suppose the body to have wings for a velocity of motion equal to a spirit, yet, if it had not a power of invisibility too, and a capacity of conveying himself, undiscovered, into all the secret recesses of mankind, and the same secret art, or capacity of insinuation, suggestion, accusation, &c., by which his wicked designs are now propagated, and all his other devices assisted, by which he deludes and betrays mankind; I say, he would be no more a Devil, that is, a destroyer—no more a deceiver, and no more a Satan, that is, a dangerous arch enemy to the souls of men; nor would it be any difficulty to mankind to shun and avoid him, as I shall make plain in the other part of his history.

Had the Devil from the beginning been embodied, as he could not have been invisible to us, whose souls, equally seraphic, are only prescribed by being embodied and incased in flesh and blood as we are, so he would have been no more a Devil to anybody but himself. The imprisonment in a body, had the powers of that body been all that we can conceive to make him formidable to us, would yet have been an hell to him. Consider him as a conquered, exasperated rebel, retaining all that fury and swelling ambition, that hatred of God, and envy at his creatures, which dwells now in his enraged spirit as a Devil; yet suppose him to have been condemned to organic powers, confined to corporeal motion, and restrained, as a body must be supposed to restrain a spirit; it must, at the same time, suppose him to be effectually disabled from all the methods he is now allowed to make use of for exerting his rage and enmity against God, any further than as he might suppose it to effect his Maker at second-hand, by wounding his glory through the sides of his weakest creature, man.

He must certainly be thus confined, because body can only act upon body, not upon spirit, no species being empowered to act out of the compass of its own sphere.

He might have been empowered, indeed, to have acted terrible, and even destructive things upon mankind, especially if this body had any powers given it which mankind had not, by which man would be overmatched, and not be in a condition of self-defence. For example, suppose him to have had wings to have flown in the air, or to be invulnerable, and that no human invention, art, or engine, could hurt, ensnare, captivate, or restrain him.

But this is to suppose the righteous and wise Creator to have made a creature, and not be able to defend and preserve him; or to have left him defenceless to the mercy of another of his own creatures, whom He had given power to destroy him. This, indeed, might have occasioned a general idolatry, and made mankind, as the Americans do to this day, worship the Devil, that he might not hurt them: but it could not have prevented the destruction of mankind, supposing the Devil to have had malice equal to his power; and he must put on a new nature, be compassionate, generous, beneficent, and steadily good, in sparing the rival enemy he was able to destroy, or he must have ruined mankind. In short, he must have ceased to have been a Devil and must have re-assumed his original, angelic, heavenly nature; have been filled with the principles of love to, and delight in, the works of his Creator, and bent to propagate his glory and interest; or he must have put an end to the race of man, whom it would be in his power to destroy, and oblige his Maker to create a new species, or fortify the old with some kind of defence, which must be invulnerable, and which his fiery darts could not penetrate. On this occasion, suffer me to make an excursion from the usual style of this work, and with some solemnity to express my thoughts as follows:—

How glorious is the wisdom and goodness of the great Creator of the world! in thus restraining these seraphic OUTCASTS from the power of assuming human or organic bodies! which, could they do, invigorating them with

the supernatural powers, which as seraphs and angels they now possess, and might exert, they would be able even to fright mankind from the face of the earth, and to destroy and confound God's creation. Nay, even as they are, were not their power limited, they might destroy the creation itself, reverse and overturn nature, and put the world into a general conflagration. But were those immortal spirits embodied, though they were not permitted to confound nature, they would be able to harass poor, weak, and defenceless man out of his wits, and render him perfectly useless, either to his Maker or himself.

But the Dragon is chained; the Devil's power is limited. He has, indeed, a vastly extended empire, being prince of the air, having at least the whole atmosphere to range in; and how far that atmosphere is extended, is not yet ascertained by the nicest observations. I say at least, because we do yet know how far he may be allowed to make excursions beyond the atmosphere of this globe into the planetary worlds, and what power he may exercise in all the habitable parts of the solar system; nay, of all the other solar systems, which, for aught we know, may exist in the mighty extent of created space, and of which you may hear farther in its order.

But let his power be what it will there, we are sure it is limited here, and that in two particulars: *First*, He is limited, as above, from assuming a body, or bodily shapes, with substance; and, *secondly*, from exerting seraphic powers, and acting with that supernatural force, which, as an angel, he was certainly vested with before the Fall, and which we are not certain is yet taken from him; or, at most, we do not know how much it may or may not be diminished by his degeneracy, and by the blow given him at his expulsion. This we are certain, that, be his power greater or less, he is restrained from exercise of it in this world; and he, who was once equal to the angel who killed 180,000 men in one night, is not able now, without a new com-

mission, to take away the life of one Job, nor touch anything he had.

But let us consider him, then, limited and restrained as he is, yet he remains a mighty, a terrible, an immortal being; infinitely superior to man, as well in the dignity of his nature, as in the dreadful powers he retains still about him. It is true, the brain-sick heads of our enthusiastics paint him blacker than he is, and, as I have said, wickedly represent him clothed with terrors that do not really belong to him; as if the power of good and evil was wholly vested in him, and that he was placed in the throne of his Maker to distribute both punishments and rewards: in this they are much wrong, terrifying and deluding fanciful people about him, till they turn their heads, and fright them into a belief, that the Devil will let them alone if they do such and such good things; or carry them away with him they know not whither, if they do not; as if the Devil, whose proper business is mischief, seducing and deluding mankind, and drawing them in to be rebels like himself, should threaten to seize upon them, carry them away, and in a word, fall upon them to hurt them, if they did evil; and, on the contrary, be favourable and civil to them if they did well.

Thus a poor deluded country fellow in our town, that had lived a wicked, abominable, debauched life, was frighted with an apparition, as he called it, of the Devil. He fancied that he spoke to him; and, telling his tale to a good honest Christian gentleman his neighbour, that had a little more sense than himself, the gentleman asked him if he was sure he really saw the Devil? "Yes, yes, sir," says he, "I saw him very plain." And so they began the following discourse:—

Gent. See him! see the Devil! art thou sure of it, Thomas?

Tho. Yes, yes, I am sure enough of it, master; to be sure 'twas the Devil.

Gent. And how do you know it was the Devil, Thomas? Had you ever seen the Devil before?

Tho. No, no, I had never seen him before, to be sure; but, for all that, I know 'twas the Devil.

Gent. Well, if you're sure, Thomas, there's no contradicting you: pray what clothes had he on?

Tho. Nay, sir, don't jest with me; he had no clothes on: he was clothed with fire and brimstone.

Gent. Was it dark, or daylight when you saw him?

Tho. Oh! it was very dark, for it was midnight.

Gent. How could you see him then? did you see by the light of the fire you speak of?

Tho. No, no, he gave no light himself; but I saw him for all that.

Gent. But was it within doors, or out in the street?

Tho. It was within; it was in my own chamber, when I was just going into bed, that I saw him.

Gent. Well, then, you had a candle, had'nt you?

Tho. Yes, I had a candle, but it burnt as blue! and as dim!

Gent. Well, but if the Devil was clothed with fire and brimstone, he must give you some light; there can't be such a fire as you speak of, but it must give a light with it.

Tho. No, no, he gave no light, but I smelt his fire and brimstone; he left a smell of it behind him when he was gone.

Gent. Well, so you say he had a fire, but gave no light: it was a devilish fire indeed; did it feel warm? was the room hot while he was in it?

Tho. No, no, but I was hot enough without it, for it put me into a great sweat with the fright.

Gent. Very well, he was all in fire, you say, but without light or heat; only it seems he stunk of brimstone; pray what shape was he in? what was he like? for you say you saw him.

Tho. O! Sir, I saw two great staring saucer eyes, enough to frighten anybody out of their wits.

Gent. And was that all you saw?

Tho. No, I saw his cloven foot very plain; 'twas as big as one of your bullocks that goes to plough.

Gent. So you saw none of his body, but his eyes and his feet! a fine vision indeed!

Tho. Sir, that was enough to send me going.

Gent. Going! what, did you run away from him?

Tho. No, but I fled into bed at one jump, and sunk down, and pulled the bed-clothes quite over me.

Gent. And what did you that for?

Tho. To hide myself from such a frightful creature.

Gent. Why, if it had really been the Devil, do you think the bed-clothes would have secured you from him?

Tho. Nay, I don't know; but in a fright it was all I could do.

Gent. Nay, 'twas as wise as all the rest; but come, Thomas, to be a little serious, pray did he speak to you?

Tho. Yes, yes, I heard a voice; but who it was the Lord knows.

Gent. What kind of voice was it? Was it like a man's voice?

Tho. No, it was a hoarse ugly noise, like the croaking of a frog; and it called me by name twice, "Thomas Dawson, Thomas Dawson."

Gent. Well, did you answer?

Tho. No, not I, I could not have spoken a word for my life; why, I was frighted to death.

Gent. Did it say anything else?

Tho. Yes, when it saw that I did not speak. It said, "Thomas Dawson, Thomas Dawson! you are a wicked wretch, you lay with Jenny S—— last night; if you don't repent, I will take you away alive and carry you to hell, and you shall be damn'd, you wretch."

Gent. And was it true, Thomas? did you lie with Jenny S—— the night before?

Tho, Indeed, master, why, yes it was true; but I was very sorry afterwards.

Gent. But how should the Devil know it, Thomas?

Tho. Nay, he knows it to be sure; why, they say he knows everything.

Gent. Well, but why should he be angry at that? He would rather bid you lie with her again, and encourage you to lie with forty whores, than hinder you: this can't be the Devil, Thomas.

Tho. Yes, yes, sir, 'twas the Devil to be sure.

Gent. But he bid you repent too, you say?

Tho. Yes, he threatened me if I did not.

Gent. Why, Thomas, did you think the Devil would have you repent?

Tho. Why no, that's true too; I don't know what to say to that; but what could it be? 'Twas the Devil to be sure, it could be nobody else.

Gent. No, no, 'twas neither the Devil, Thomas, nor anybody else, but your own frighted imagination; you had lain with that wench, and being a young sinner of that kind your conscience terrified you, told you the Devil would fetch you away, and you would be damn'd; and you were so persuaded it would be so, that you at last imagined he was come for you indeed; that you saw him and heard him; whereas, you may depend upon it, if Jenny S—— will let you lie with her every night, the Devil will hold the candle, or do anything to forward it, but will never disturb you; he's too much a friend to your wickedness; it could never be the Devil, Thomas; 'twas only your own guilt frighted you, and that was Devil enough too, if you knew the worst of it, you need no other enemy.

Tho. Why, that's true, master; one would think the Devil should not bid me repent, that's true; but certainly 'twas the Devil for all that.

Now Thomas was not the only man that, having committed a flagitious crime, had been deluded by his own imagination, and the power of fancy, to think the Devil was come for him; whereas the Devil, to give him his due, is too honest to pretend to such things; 'tis his business to persuade men to offend, not to repent; and

he professes no other. He may press men to this or that action, by telling them 'tis no sin, no offence, no breach of God's law, and the like, when really 'tis both; but to press them to repent, when they have offended, that's quite out of the way; 'tis none of his business, nor does he pretend to it; therefore, let no man charge the Devil with what he is not concerned in.

But to return to his person; he is, as I have said, notwithstanding his lost glory, a mighty, a terrible, and an immortal spirit: he is himself called a Prince, the Prince of the Power of the Air, the Prince of Darkness, the Prince of Devils, and the like; and his attending spirits are called his angels; so that however Satan has lost the glory and rectitude of his nature, by his apostate state, yet he retains a greatness and magnificence, which places him above our rank, and, indeed, above our conception; for we know not what he is, any more than we know what the blessed angels are; of whom we can say no more, than that they are ministering spirits, &c., as the Scripture has described them.

Two things, however, may give us some insight into the nature of the Devil, in the present state he is in, and these we have a clear discovery of in the whole series of his conduct from the beginning.

1. That he is the vanquished, but implacable enemy of God, his Creator, who has conquered him, and expelled him from the habitations of bliss; on which account he is filled with envy, rage, malice, and all uncharitableness; would dethrone God and overturn the throne of heaven, if it was in his power.
2. That he is man's irreconcileable enemy; not as he is a man, nor on his own account simply, nor for any advantage he (the Devil) can make by the ruin and destruction of man; but in more envy at the felicity he is supposed to enjoy as Satan's rival, and as he is appointed to succeed Satan and his angels

in the possession of those glories from which they are fallen.

And here I must take upon me to say, Mr. Milton makes a wrong judgment of the reason of Satan's resolution to disturb the felicity of man; he tells us it was merely to affront God his maker, rob him of the glory designed in his new work of creation, and to disappoint him in his main design, *namely*, the creating a new species of creatures in a perfect rectitude of soul, and after his own image, from whom he might expect a new fund of glory should be raised, and who was to appear as the triumph of the Messiah's victory over the Devil. In all which Satan could not be fool enough not to know that he should be disappointed by the same power which had so eminently counteracted his rage before.

But, I believe, the Devil went upon a much more probable design; and though he may be said to act upon a meaner principle than that of pointing his rage at the personal glory of his Creator, yet I own that in my opinion, it was by much the more rational undertaking, and more likely to succeed; and that was, that whereas, he perceived this new species of creatures had a sublime as well as an human part, and were made capable of possessing the mansions of eternal beatitude, from whence he (Satan and his angels were expelled, and irretrievably banished;) envy at such a rival moved him by all possible artifice, for he saw him deprived of capacity to do it by force, to render him unworthy like himself; that, bringing him to fall into rebelliousness and disobedience, he might see his rival damned with him; and those who were intended to fill up the empty space of heaven, made so by the absence of so many millions of fallen angels, be cast out into the same darkness with them.

How he came to know that this new species of creatures were liable to such imperfections, is best explained by the Devil's prying, vigilant disposition, judging or

leading him to judge by himself (for he was as near being infallible as any of God's creatures had been;) and then inclining him to try whether it was so or no.

Modern naturalists, especially some who have not so large a charity for the fair sex as I have, tell us, that as soon as ever Satan saw the woman and looked in her face he saw evidently that she was the best formed creature to make a tool of, and the best to make an hypocrite of, that could be made, and, therefore, the most fitted for his purpose.

1. He saw by some thwart lines in her face, (legible, perhaps, to himself only) that there was a throne ready prepared for the sin of pride to sit in state upon, especially if it took an early possession. Eve you may suppose was a perfect beauty, if ever such a thing may be supposed in the human frame; her figure being so extraordinary was the ground-work of his project; there needed no more than to bring her to be vain of it, and to conceit that it either was so, or was infinitely more sublime and beautiful than it really was; and having thus tickled her vanity, to produce pride gradually, till at last he might persuade her that she was really angelic, or of heavenly race, and wanted nothing but to eat the forbidden fruit, and that would make her something more excellent still.

2. Looking farther into her frame, and with a nearer view to her imperfections, he saw room to conclude, that she was of a constitution easy to be seduced, and especially by flattering her; raising a commotion in her soul, and a disturbance among her passions; and accordingly he set himself to work, to disturb her repose, and put dreams of great things into her head; together with something of a nameless kind, which (however some have been ill-natured enough to suggest) I shall not injure the Devil so much as to mention, without better evidence.

3. But besides this, he found, upon the very first survey of her outside, something so very charming in her mien and behaviour, so engaging as well as agree-

able in the whole texture of her person, and withal such a sprightly wit, such a vivacity of parts, such a fluency of tongue, and, above all, such a winning prevailing whine in her smiles, or at least in her tears, that he made no doubt, if he could but once delude her, she would easily be brought to delude Adam, who he found set not only a great value upon her person, but was perfectly captivated by her charms; in a word, he saw plainly, that if he could but ruin her, he should easily make a devil of her, to ruin her husband, and draw him into any gulf of mischief, were it ever so black and dreadful, that she would first fall into herself. How far some may be wicked enough, from hence, to suggest of the fair sex, that they have been devils to their husbands ever since, I cannot say; I hope they will not be so unmerciful to discover truths of such fatal consequence, though they should come to their knowledge.

Thus subtle and penetrating has Satan been from the beginning; and who can wonder, that upon these discoveries made into the woman's inside, he went immediately to work with her, rather than with Adam? Not but that one would think, if Adam was fool enough to be deluded by his wife, the Devil might have seen so much of it in his countenance, as to have encouraged him to make his attack directly upon him, and not to go round about, beating the bush, and ploughing with the heifer? setting upon the woman first, and then setting her upon her husband, who might as easily have been imposed upon as she?

Other commentators upon this critical text suggest to us, that Eve was not so pleased with the hopes of being made a goddess, that the pride of a seraphic knowledge did not so much work upon her imagination to bring her to consent, as a certain secret notion infused into her heart by the same wicked instrument, that she should be wiser than Adam, and should by the superiority of her understanding necessarily have the government over him; which, at present, she was sensible she

had not, he being master of a particular air of gravity and majesty, as well as of strength, infinitely superior to her.

This is an ill-natured suggestion; but it must be confessed the impatient desire of government, which (since that) appears in the general behaviour of the sex, and particularly of governing husbands, leaves too much room to legitimate the supposition.

The expositors, who are of this opinion, add to it, that this being her original crime, or the particular temptation to that crime; Heaven thought fit to show his justice, in making her more entire subjection to her husband be a part of the curse, that she might read her sin in the punishment—*viz.* He shall rule over thee.

I only give the general hint of these things, as they appear recorded in the annals of Satan's first tyranny, and at the beginning of his government in the world; those that would be more particularly informed may inquire of him, and know further.

I cannot, however, but observe here, with some regret, how it appears by the consequence, that the Devil was not mistaken when he made an early judgment of Mrs. Eve; and how Satan really went the right way to work to judge of her; it is certain the Devil had nothing to do but look in her face, and, upon a near steady view, he might easily see there an instrument for his turn; nor has he failed to make her a tool ever since, by the very methods which he at first proposed; to which, perhaps, he has made some additions in the corrupting her composition, as well as her understanding; qualifying her to be a complete snare to the poor weaker vessel man; to wheedle him with her Siren's voice, abuse him with her smiles, delude him with her crocodile tears, and sometimes cock her crown at him, and terrify him with the thunder of her treble; making the effeminated male apple-eater tremble at the noise of that very tongue which at first commanded him to sin. For it is yet a debate which the learned have not decided, whether she persuaded and intreated him, or,

like a true she-tyrant, she exercised her authority, and obliged him to eat the forbidden fruit.

And therefore, a certain author, whose name for fear of the sex's resentment I conceal, brings her in, calling to Adam at a great distance, in an imperious, haughty manner, beckoning to him with her hand thus:—"Here," say she, "you cowardly faint-hearted wretch, take this branch of heavenly fruit; eat, and be a stupid fool no longer; eat, and be wise; eat, and be a god; and know to your eternal shame, that your wife has been made an enlightened goddess before you."

He tells you, Adam hung back a little at first and trembled, afraid to trespass:—"What ails the sot?" says the new termagant: "What are you afraid of? Did God forbid you? Yes, and why? That we might not be knowing and wise like Himself! What reason can there be that we, who have capacious souls, able to receive knowledge, should have it withheld? Take it you fool, and eat; don't you see how I am exalted in soul by it, and am quite another creature? Take it, I say; or, if you don't, I'll go and cut down the tree, and you shall never eat any of it at all, and you shall be still a fool, and be governed by your wife for ever."

Thus, if this interpretation of the thing be just, she scolded him into it, rated him, and brought him to it by the terror of her voice; a thing that has retained a dreadful influence over him ever since: nor have the greatest of Adam's successors, how light soever some husbands make of it in this age, been ever able, since that, to conceal their terror at the very sound, nay, if we may believe history, it prevailed even among the gods, not all the noise of Vulcan's hammers could silence the clamours of that outrageous whore his goddess; nay, even Jupiter himself led such a life with a termagant wife, that once they say, Juno out-scolded the noise of all his thunders, and was within an ace of bawling him out of heaven. But to return to the Devil.

With these views he resolved, it seems, to attack the

woman; and if you consider him as the Devil, and what he aimed at, and consider the fair prospect he had of success, I must confess I do not see who can blame him, or, at least, how anything else could be expected from him; but we shall meet with it again by and by.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the Station Satan had in Heaven before he fell; the Nature and Original of his Crime; and some of Mr. Milton's mistakes about it.

Thus far I have gone upon general observations in this great affair of Satan, and his empire in the world; I now come to my title and shall enter upon the historical part, as the main work before you.

Besides what has been said poetically relating to the fall and wandering condition of the Devil and his hosts, which poetical part I offer only as an excursion, and desire it should be taken so; I shall give you what I think is deduced from good originals on the part of Satan's story, in a few words.

He was one of the created angels, formed by the same Omnipotent hand, and glorious power, who created the heavens and the earth, and all that is therein; this innumerable heavenly host, as we have reason to believe, contained angels of higher and lower stations, of greater and of lesser degree, expressed in the Scripture by thrones, dominions, and principalities. This, I think, we have as much reason to believe, as we have that there are stars in the firmament (or starry heavens) of greater or lesser magnitude.

What particular station among the immortal choir of angels, this arch-seraph, this prince of devils, called Satan, was placed in before his expulsion, that, indeed, we cannot come at the knowledge of; at least, not with

such an authority as may be depended upon; but as, from Scripture authority, he is placed at the head of all the apostate armies, after he was fallen, we cannot think it in the least assuming to say that he might be supposed to be one of the principal agents in the rebellion which happened in heaven; and, consequently, that he might be one of the highest in dignity there before that rebellion.

The higher his station, the lower, and with the greater precipitation, was his overthrow; and therefore those words, though taken in another sense, may very well be applied to him: "How art thou fallen, O Lucifer, Son of the Morning!"

Having granted the dignity of his person, and the high station in which he was placed among the heavenly host; it would come then necessarily to inquire into the nature of his fall, and, above all, a little into the reason of it. Certain it is, he did fall, was guilty of rebellion and disobedience, the just effect of pride; sins which, in that holy place, might well be call wonderful.

But what to me is more wonderful, and which I think will be very ill accounted for, is, how came seeds of crime to rise in the angelic nature, created in a state of perfect unspotted holiness? how was it first found in a place where no unclean thing can enter? how came ambition, pride, or envy, to generate there? could there be offence, where there was no crime? could untainted purity breed corruption? could that nature contaminate and infect, which was always drinking in principles of perfection?

Happy it is to me, that writing the history, not solving the difficulties of Satan's affairs, is my province in this work; that I am to relate the fact, not give reasons for it, or assign causes; if it was otherwise, I should break off at this difficulty, for I acknowledge I do not see through it; neither do I think that the great Milton, after all his fine images and lofty excursions upon the subject, has left it one jot clearer than he found it. Some are of opinion, and among them the great Dr. B——s,

that crime broke in upon them at some interval, when they omitted but one moment fixing their eyes and thoughts on the glories of the Divine face, to admire and adore, which is the full employment of angels. But even this, though it goes as high as imagination can carry us, does not reach it, nor, to me, make it one jot more comprehensible than it was before. All I can say to it here is, that so it was; the fact was upon record; and the rejected troop are in being, whose circumstance confess the guilt, and still groan under the punishment.

If you will bear with a poetic excursion upon the subject, not to solve, but illustrate the difficulty, take it as follows:—

Thou sin of witchcraft! first born child of crime!
Produced before the bloom of time:
Ambition's maiden sin, in heaven conceived!
And who could have believed
Defilement could in purity begin,
And bright eternal day be soil'd with sin?
Tells us, sly penetrating crime,
How cam'st thou there, thou fault sublime?
How didst thou pass the adamantine gate,
And into spirit, thyself insinuate?
From what dark state?—from what deep place?
From what strange uncreated race?
Where was thy ancient habitation found,
Before void Chaos heard the forming sound?
Wast thou a substance, or an airy ghost,
A vapour flying in the fluid waste
Of unconcocted air?
And how at first didst thou come there!
Sure there was once a time when thou wert not:
By whom wast thou created? and for what?
Art thou a steam from some contagious damp exhaled?
How should contagion be entail'd
On bright seraphic spirits, and in a place,
Where all's supreme, and glory fills the space?

No noxious vapour there could rise:
For there no noxious matter lies;
Nothing that's evil could appear;
Sin never could seraphic glory bear;
The brightness of the Eternal face,
Which fills as well as constitutes the place,
Would be a fire too hot for crime to bear,
'Twould calcine sin, or melt it into air.
How then did first defilement enter in?
Ambition, thou first vital seed of sin!
Thou life of death how cam'st thou there?
In what bright form didst thou appear?
In what seraphic orb didst thou arise?
Surely that place admits of no disguise:
Eternal sight must know thee there,
And, being known, thou soon must disappear;
But since the fatal truth we know,
Without the matter thence, or manner how,
Thou highest superlative of sin,
Tell us thy nature, where thou didst begin?
The first degree of thy increase
Debauch'd the regions of eternal peace;
And fill'd the breasts of loyal angels there
With the first treason, and infernal war.
Thou art the high extreme of pride,
And dost o'er lesser crimes preside,
Not for the mean attempt of vice design'd
But to embroil the world, and damn mankind.
Transforming mischief! how hast thou procured
That loss that's ne'er to be restored,
And made the bright seraphic morning star
In horrid monstrous shapes appear?
Satan, that, while he dwelt in glorious light,
Was always then as pure, as he was bright,
That in effulgent rays of glory shone,
Excell'd by Eternal light, by Him alone,
Distorted now, and stript of innocence,
And banish'd with thee from the pre-eminence.
How has the splendid seraph changed his face,

Transform'd by thee, and like thy monstrous race?
Ugly as is the crime for which he fell?
Fitted by thee to make a local hell;
For such must be the place where either of you dwell.

Thus, as I told you, I only moralise upon the subject, but as to the difficulty, I must leave it as I find it, unless, as I hinted at first, I could prevail with Satan to set pen to paper, and write this part of his own history; no question but he could let us into the secret; but, to be plain, I doubt I shall tell so many plain truths of the Devil in this history, and discover so many of his secrets, which it is not for his interest to have discovered, that before I have done, the Devil and I may not be so good friends as you may suppose we are; at least, not friends enough to obtain such a favour of him, though it be for public good; so we must be content till we come on the other side the blue blanket, and then we shall know the whole story.

But now, though, as I said, I will not attempt to solve the difficulty, I may, I hope, venture to tell you, that there is not so much difficulty in it as at first sight appears; and especially not so much as some people would make us believe. Let us see how others are mistaken in it; perhaps, that may help us a little in the inquiry; for to know what it is not, is one help towards knowing what it is.

Mr. Milton has, indeed, told us a great many merry things of the Devil in a most formal solemn manner; till, in short, he has made a good play of heaven and hell; and no doubt if he had lived in our times, he might have had it acted with our Pluto and Proserpine; he has made fine speeches both for God and the Devil; and a little edition might have turned it *a la moderne*, into an *Harlequin Dieu et Diable*.

I confess I do not well know how far the dominion of poetry extends itself; it seems the butts and bounds of Parnassus are not yet ascertained; so that for aught I know, by virtue of their ancient privileges, called

Licencia poetarum, there can be no blasphemy in verse; as some of our divines say, there can be no treason in the pulpit. But they that will venture to write that way, ought to be better satisfied about that point than I may.

Upon this foot Mr. Milton, to grace his poem, and give room for his towering fancy, has gone a length beyond all that went before him, since Ovid in his Metamorphoses. He has indeed complimented God Almighty with a flux of soft words, and great sounds; and has made a very fine story of the Devil; but he has made a mere *Je ne sais quoi* of Jesus Christ. In one line he has him riding on a cherub, and in another sitting on a throne, both in the very same moment of action. In another place, he has brought him in making a speech to his saints, when it is evident he had none there; for we know man was not created till a long while after; and nobody can be so dull as to say the angels may be called saints, without the greatest absurdity in nature. Besides, he makes *Christ* himself distinguish them, as in two several bands, and of different persons and species, as to be sure they are,

> " Stand still in bright array, ye saints——
> Here stand,———Ye angels."
>
> *Par. Lost.* book v.

So that *Christ* here is brought in drawing up his army before the last battle, and making a speech to them, to tell them they shall only stand by in a warlike order; but that they shall have no occasion to fight, for He alone will engage the rebels. Then in embattling his legions He places the saints here, and angels there; as if one were the main battle of infantry, and the other of the wings cavalry. But who are those saints? There are indeed all of Milton's own making: it is certain there were no saints at all in heaven or earth at that time; *God* and his angels filled up the place; and till some of the angels fell, and men were

created, had lived, and were dead, there could be no saints there. Saint Abel was certainly the Proto-Saint of all that were ever seen in heaven, as well as the Proto-Martyr of all that hath been upon earth.

Just such another mistake, not to call it a blunder, he makes about hell; which he not only makes *local*, but gives it a being before the fall of the angels; and brings it in opening its mouth to receive them. This is so contrary to the nature of the thing, and so great an absurdity, that no poetic licence can account for it; for though poesy may form stories, as idea and fancy may furnish materials, yet poesy must not break in upon chronology, and make things which were in time to exist, act before they existed.

Thus a painter makes a fine piece of work, the fancy may be good, the strokes masterly, and the beauty of the workmanship inimitably curious and fine; and yet have some unpardonable improprieties, which mar the whole work. So the famous painter of Toledo painted the story of the three wise men of the east coming to worship, and bringing their presents to our Lord, upon his birth at Bethlehem, where he presents them as three Arabian or Indian kings; two of them are white, and one black; but unhappily when he drew the latter part of them kneeling, which to be sure was done after their faces, their legs being necessarily a little intermixed, he made three black feet for the negro king, and but three white feet for the two white kings; and yet never discovered the mistake till the piece was presented to the king, and hung up in the great church. As this is an unpardonable error in sculpture or limning, it must be much more so in poetry, where the images must have no improprieties, much less inconsistencies.

In a word, Mr. Milton has indeed made a fine poem; but it is a devil of a history. I can easily allow Mr. Milton to make hills and dales, flowery meadows and plains (and the like) in heaven; and places of retreat and contemplation in hell; though I must add, that it

can be allowed to no poet on earth but Mr. Milton. Nay, I will allow Mr. Milton, if you please, to set the angels dancing in heaven (book v.), and the Devil singing in hell (book i.) though they are, in short, especially the last, most horrid absurdities. But I cannot allow him to make their music in hell to be harmonious and charming, as he does; such images being incongruous, and, indeed, shocking to nature. Neither can I think, we should allow things to be placed out of time in poetry, any more than in history. It is a confusion of images, which is agreed to be disallowed by all critics, of what tribe or species soever in the world; and is indeed unpardonable. But we shall find so many more of these things in Mr. Milton, that really taking notice of them all would carry me quite out of my way, I being at this time not writing the history of Mr. Milton, but of the Devil; besides, Mr. Milton is such a celebrated man, that who but he that can write the history of the Devil dare meddle with him.

But to come back to the business. As I had cautioned you against running to Scripture for shelter in cases of difficulty, Scripture weighing very little among the people I am directing my speech to; so, indeed, Scripture gives but very little light into anything of the Devil's story before his fall, and but to very little of it for some time after.

Nor has Mr. Milton said one word to solve the main difficulty, *viz.*, how the Devil came to fall and how sin came into heaven? how the spotless seraphic nature could receive infection? whence the contagion proceeded? what noxious matter could emit corruption there? how and whence any vapour to poison the angelic frame could rise up; or how it increased and grew up to crime! but all this he passes over, and hurrying up to that part in two or three words, only tells us,—

——— "His Pride
Had cast him out of heaven, with all his host

Of rebel angels; by whose aid, aspiring,
He trusted to have equall'd the Most High."
Par. Lost, book v.

His pride! but how came Satan, while an archangel, to be proud? how did it consist, that pride and perfect holiness should meet in the same person? here we must bid Mr. Milton good night; for, in plain terms, he is in the dark about it, and so are we all; and the most that can be said about it is, that we know the fact is so, but nothing of the nature or reason of it.

But to come to the history: the angels fell; they sinned (wonderful!) in heaven, and God cast them out, what their sin was, is not explicit; but, in general, it is called a rebellion against God: all sin must be so.

Mr. Milton here takes upon him to give the history of it, as particularly as if he had been born there, and came down hither on purpose to give us an account of it (I hope he is better informed by this time); but this he does in such a manner, as jostles with religion, and shocks our faith in so many points necessary to be believed, that we must forbear to give up to Mr. Milton, or must set aside part of the Sacred text, in such a manner as will assist some people to set it all aside.

I mean by this his invented scheme of the SON's being declared in heaven to be begotten then, and then to be declared generalissimo of all the armies of heaven; and of the FATHER's summoning all the angels of the heavenly host to submit to him, and pay him homage. The words are quoted already, page 21.

I must own the invention, indeed, is very fine; the images exceedingly magnificent, the thoughts rich and bright, and in some respect, truly sublime; but the authorities fail most wretchedly, and the mis-timing of it is insufferably gross, as is noted in the introduction of this work; for Christ is not declared the SON OF GOD but on earth. It is true it is spoken from heaven, but then it is spoken as perfected on earth. If it was

at all to be assigned to heaven, it was from eternity; and there indeed his eternal generation is allowed: but to take upon us to say, that on a certain day; for so our poem assumes,—

——— " When on a day
——— On such a day
As heaven's great year brings forth th' empyreal host
Of angels, by imperial summons call'd,
Forthwith, from all the ends of heav'n appear'd."
Par. Lost, book v.

This is indeed too gross. At this meeting he makes God declare the Son to be that day begotten, as before. Had He made Him not begotten that day, but declared General that day, it would be reconcileable with Scripture, and with sense; for either the begetting is meant of ordaining to an office, or else the Eternal Generation falls to the ground; and if it was to the office (Mediator), then Mr. Milton is out in ascribing another fixed day to the work; see book x. But then the declaring Him that day is wrong chronology too; for Christ is declared the Son of God with power, only by the resurrection of the dead; and this is both a declaration in heaven and in earth, Rom. i. 4. And Milton can have no authority to tell us, there was any declaration of it in heaven before this, except it be that dull authority called poetic licence, which will not pass in so solemn an affair as that.

But the thing was necessary to Milton, who wanted to assign some cause or original of the Devil's rebellion: and so, as I said above, the design is well laid; it only wants two trifles, called truth and history; so I leave it to struggle for itself.

This ground plot being laid, he has a fair field for the Devil to play the rebel in; for he immediately brings him in, not satisfied with the exaltation of the Son of God. The cause must be thus: Satan, being an eminent archangel, and, perhaps, the highest of the angelic train, hearing his sovereign declaration, that the

Son of God was declared to be head or generalissimo of all the heavenly host, took it ill to see another put into the high station over his head, as the soldiers call it. He, perhaps, thinking himself the senior officer, and disdaining to submit to any but his former immediate sovereigns. In short, he threw up his commission, and, in order not to be compelled to obey, revolted, and broke out in an open rebellion.

All this part is a decoration noble and great; nor is there any declaration to be made against the invention, because a deduction of probable events; but the plot is wrong laid, as is observed above, because contradicted by the Scripture account, according to which Christ was declared in heaven, not then, but from eternity, and not declared with power but on earth, in his victory over sin and death, by the resurrection from the dead; so that Mr. Milton is not orthodox in this part, but lays an avowed foundation for the corrupt doctrine of Arius, which says, there was a time when Christ was not the Son of God.

But leave Mr. Milton his flights, I agree with him in this part, *viz.*, that the wicked and sinning angels, with the great archangel at the head of them, revolted from their obedience, even in heaven itself; that Satan began the wicked defection, and being a chief among the heavenly host, consequently carried over a great party with him, who altogether rebelled against God; that upon this rebellion, they were sentenced by the righteous judgment of God to be expelled the holy habitation. This, besides the authority of Scripture, we have visible testimonies of from the Devils themselves; their influences and operations amongst us every day, of which mankind are witnesses; in all the merry things they do in his name, and under his protection, in almost every scene of life they pass through, whether we talk of things done openly, or in masquerade; things done in ——, or out of it; things done in earnest or in jest.

But then, what comes of the long and bloody war

that Mr. Milton gives such a full and particular account of and the terrible battles in heaven between Michael, with the royal army of angels on one hand, and Satan with his rebel host on the other; in which he supposes the numbers and strength to be pretty nearly equal; but at length brings in the Devil's army, upon doubling their rage, and bringing new engines of war into the field, putting Michael and all the faithful army to the worst, and, in a word, defeats them; for though they were not put to plain flight, in which case he must, at least have given an account of two or three thousand millions of angels cut in pieces and wounded, yet he allows them to give over the fight and make a kind of retreat; so making way for the complete victory of the SON OF GOD. Now this is all invention, or at least a borrowed thought from the old poets, and the fight of the Giants against Jupiter, so nobly defined by Ovid almost two thousand years ago; and there it was well enough; but whether poetic fancy should be allowed to fable upon Heaven or not, and the King of Heaven too, that I leave to the sages.

By this expulsion of the Devils, it is allowed by most authors, they are, *ipso facto*, stripped of the rectitude and holiness of their nature; which was their beauty and perfection, and being engulfed in the abyss of irrecoverable ruin (it is no matter where), from that very time they lost their angelic beautiful form, commenced ugly frightful monsters and devils and became evil-doers, as well as evil-spirits—filled with a horrid malignity and enmity against their Maker, and armed with a hellish resolution to show and exert on all occasions; retaining, however, their exalted spirituous nature, and having a vast extensive power of action; all which they can exert in nothing else but doing evil; for they are entirely divested of either power or will to do good; and even in doing evil, they are under restraints and limitations of a superior power, which it is their torments, and, perhaps, a great part of their hell, that they cannot break through.

CHAPTER V.

What became of the Devil, and his Host of Fallen Spirits, after their being expelled from Heaven; and his wandering Condition till the Creation; with some more of Mr. Milton's absurdities on that subject.

HAVING thus brought the Devil, and his innumerable legions, to the edge of the bottomless pit, it remains before I bring them to action, that some inquiry should be made into the posture of their affairs immediately after their precipitate fall, and into the place of their immediate residence; for this will appear to be very necessary to Satan's history, and indeed, so as that without it, all the farther account we have to give of him will be inconsistent and imperfect.

And *first*, I take upon me to lay down some fundamentals, which, I believe, I shall be able to make out historically, though, perhaps, not so geographically as some may have pretended to do.

1. That Satan was not immediately, nor is yet, locked down in the abyss of a local hell, such as is supposed by some, and such as he shall be at last; or that,
2. If he was, he has certain liberties allowed him for excursions unto the regions of this air, and certain spheres of action, in which he can or does move, to do, like a very Devil as he is, all the mischief he can, and of which we see so many examples both about us and in us. In the inquiry of which I shall take occasion to examine whether the Devil is not in most of us sometimes, if not in all of us one time or other.
3. That Satan has no particular residence in this globe or earth where we live; that he rambles about among us, and marches over and over our whole country,

he and his devils, *in camps volant;* but that he pitches his grand army, or chief encampment, in our adjacencies or frontiers, which the philosophers call atmosphere; and whence he is called the prince of the power of that element or part of the world which we call air; from whence he sends out his spies, his agent and emissaries to get intelligence, and to carry his commissions to his trusty and well-beloved cousins and counsellors on earth, by which his business is done and his affairs carried on in the world.

Here again I meet Mr. Milton full in my face, who will have it, that the Devil, immediately at his expulsion, rolling down directly into hell, proper and local: nay, he measures the very distance, at least gives the length of the journey by the time they were passing or falling, which he says was nine days. A good poetical flight! but neither founded on Scripture or philosophy. He might every jot as well brought hell up to the walls of heaven, advanced to receive them; or he ought to have considered the space which is to be allowed to any loyalty, let him take what part of infinite distance between heaven and created hell he pleases.

But let that be as Mr. Milton's extraordinary genius pleases to place it; the passage, it seems, is just nine days between heaven and hell. Well might Dives, then, see Father Abraham, and talk to him too; but then the great gulf, which Abraham tells him was fixed between them, does not seem to be so large as, according to Sir Isaac Newton, Dr. Halley, Mr. Whiston, and the rest of our men of science, we take it to be.

But suppose the passage be nine days, according to Milton, what followed? Why, hell gaped wide, opened its frightful mouth, and received them all at once; millions and thousands of millions as they were, it received all at a gulph, as we call it. They had no difficulty to go in; no, none at all.

—— "Facilis descensus averni:
Sed revocare gradum—
Hoc opus, hic labor est.—"

VIRGIL.

All this, as poetical, we may receive, but not at all as historical; for then come difficulties insuperable in our way, some of which may be as follow: 1. Hell is here supposed to be a place; nay, a place created for the punishment of angels and men, and likewise created long before those had fallen, or these had being. This makes me say, Mr. Milton was a good poet, but a bad historian. Tophet was prepared of old indeed, but it was for the king, that is to say, it was prepared for those whose lot it should be to come thither. But this does not at all suppose it was prepared before it was resolved whether there should be subjects for it or no; else we must suppose both men and angels were made by the glorious and upright Maker of all things, on purpose for destruction, which would be incongruous and absurd.

But there is worse yet to come. In the next place, he adds, that hell, having received them, closed upon them; that is to say, took them in, closed or shut its mouth, and, in a word, they were locked in and kept there; as it was said in another place. They were locked in and kept there; and the key is carried up to heaven, and kept there; for we know the angel came down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit. But first see Mr. Milton:—

"Nine days they fell; confounding Chaos roar'd,
And felt tenfold confusion in their fall:
——— Hell at last,
Yawning, received them whole, and on them closed:
Down from the verge of heaven, eternal wrath
Burnt after them—unquenchable."

This scheme is certainly deficient, if not absurd; and

I think is more so than any other he has laid! 'Tis evident, neither Satan, or his host of devils, are, no not any of them, yet, even now, confined in the eternal prison, where, the Scripture says, he shall be reserved in chains of darkness. They must have mean thoughts of hell as a prison, a local confinement, that can suppose the Devil able to break gaol, knock off his fetters, and come abroad, if he had been once locked in there, as Mr. Milton says he was; now we know that he is abroad again; he presented himself before God, among his neighbours, when Job's case came to be discoursed of; and, more than that, 'tis plain he was a prisoner at large, by his answer to God's question, which was—"Whence comest thou?" To which he answered, "From going to and fro through the earth,"&c. This, I say, is plain; and if it be as certain that hell closed upon them, I demand, then, How got he out? And why was there not a proclamation for apprehending him, as there usually is after such rogues break prison?

In short, the true account of the Devil's circumstances, since his fall from heaven, is much more likely to be thus: That he is more of a vagrant than a prisoner; that he is a wanderer in the wild unbounded waste, where he and his legions, like the hordes of Tartary, who, in the wild countries of Karakathay, the desert of Barkan, Kassan, and Astracan, live up and down where they think proper: so Satan and his innumerable legions rove about *hic et ubique*, pitching their camps (being beasts of prey) where they find the most spoil; watching over this world (and all the other worlds, for aught we know, and if there are any such); I say watching, and seeking whom they may deceive and delude, and so destroy, for devour they cannot.

Satan being thus confined to a vagabond, wandering, unsettled condition, is without any certain abode; for though he has, in consequence of his angelic nature, a kind of empire in the liquid waste or air, yet this is certainly part of his punishment, that he is continually hovering over this inhabited globe of earth, swelling

with the rage of envy at the felicity of his rival man, and studying all the means possible to injure and ruin him—but extremely limited in power, to his unspeakable mortification. This is his present state, without any fixed abode, place or space, allowed him to rest the sole of his foot upon.

From his expulsion, I take his first view of horror to be that of looking back towards the heaven which he had lost, there to see the chasm or opening made up, out of which, as at a breach in the wall of the holy place, he was thrust headlong by the power which expelled him; I say, to see the breach repaired, the mounds built up, the walls garrisoned with millions of angels, and armed with thunders, and, above all, made terrible by that glory from whose presence they were expelled, as is poetically hinted at before.

Upon this sight, it is no wonder (if there was such a place) that they fled till the darkness might cover them, and that they might be out of the view of so hated a sight.

Wherever they found it, you may be sure they pitched their first camp; and began, after many a sour reflection upon what was past, to consider and think a little upon what was to come.

If I had as much personal acquaintance with the Devil as would admit it, and could depend upon the truth of what answer he would give me, the first question I would ask him should be, What measures they resolved on at their first assembly? And the next should be, How they were employed in all that space of time between their so flying the face of their Almighty Conqueror, and the creation of man? As for the length of time, which, according to the learned, was twenty thousand years, and, according to the more learned, not half a quarter so much, I would not concern my curiosity much about it; it is more certain, there was a considerable time between; but of that immediately. First, let me inquire what they were doing all that time.

The Devil and his host being thus, I say, cast out of heaven, and not yet confined strictly to hell, it is plain they must be somewhere. Satan and all his legions did not lose their existence, no, nor the existence of devils neither. God was so far from annihilating him, that he still preserved his being; and this not Mr. Milton only, but God himself, has made known to us, having left his history so far upon record. Several expressions in Scripture also made it evident, as particularly the story of Job, mentioned before; the like in our Saviour's time, and several others.

If hell did not immediately engulf them, as Milton suggests, it is certain, I say, that they fled somewhere, from the anger of heaven, from the face of the avenger; and his absence and their own guilt, wonder not at it, would make hell enough for them wherever they went.

Nor need we fly to the dreams of our astronomers, who took a great deal of pains to fill up the vast spaces of the starry heavens with innumerable habitable worlds; allowing as many solar systems as there are fixed stars, and that not only in the known constellations, but even in the galaxy itself; who to every such system allow a certain number of planets, and to every one of those planets so many satellites or moons, and all these planets or moons to be worlds, solid, dark, opaque bodies, habitable, and (as they would have us believe) inhabited by the like and rational creatures as on this earth; so that they may, at this rate, find room enough for the Devil and all his angels, without making a hell on purpose: nay, they may, for aught I know, find a world for every devil in all the Devil's host; and so every one may be a monarch or master devil, separately in his own sphere or world, and play the devil there by himself.

And even if it were so, it cannot be denied but that one devil in a place would be enough for a whole systemary world, and be able, if not restrained, to do mischief enough there too, and even to ruin and otherthrow the whole body of people contained in it.

But, I say, we need not fly to these shifts, or consult the astronomers in the decision of this point; for wherever Satan and his defeated host went at their expulsion from heaven, we think we are certain none of all these beautiful worlds, or be they worlds or no, I mean the fixed stars, planets, &c., had then any existence; for the beginning, as the Scripture calls it, was not yet begun.

But to speak a little by the rules of philosophy, that is to say, so as to be understood by others, even when we speak of things we cannot fully understand ourselves. Though in the beginning of time, all this glorious creation was formed, the earth, the starry heavens, and all the furniture thereof, and there was a time when they were not, yet we cannot say so of the void, or that nameless nowhere, as I called it before, which now appears to be somewhere, in which these glorious bodies are placed. That immense space which those take up, and which they move in at this time, must be supposed, before they had being, to be placed there. As God himself was, and existed, before all being, time, or place, so the heaven of heavens, or the place where the thrones and dominions of his kingdom then existed, inconceivable and ineffable, had an existence before the glorious seraphs, the innumerable company of angels which attended about the throne of God, existed; these all had a being long before, as the eternal Creator of them all had before them.

Into this void or abyss of nothing, however unmeasurable, infinite, and even to those spirits themselves inconceivable, they certainly launched from the bright precipice which they fell from, and there they shifted as well as they could.

Here, expanding those wings which fear and horror at their defeat furnished them, as I hinted before, they hurried away to the utmost distance possible from the face of God their conqueror, and then most dreaded enemy; formerly their joy and glory.

Be this utmost removed distance where it will, here

certainly Satan, and all his gang of devils, his numberless, though routed armies, retired. Here Milton might with some good ground have formed his Pandemonium, and have brought them in, consulting what was next to be done, and whether there was any room left to renew the war, or to carry on the rebellion; but had they been cast up immediately into hell, closed up there, the bottomless pit locked upon them, and the key carried up to heaven, to be kept there, as Mr. Milton himself in part confesses, and the Scripture affirms; I say, had this been so, the Devil himself could not have been so ignorant as to think of any future steps to be taken to retrieve his affairs, and therefore a Pandemonium, or divan in hell, to consult of it, was ridiculous.

All Mr. Milton's scheme of Satan's future conduct, and all the Scripture expressions about the Devil and his numerous attendants, and of his actings since that time, make it not reasonable to suggest that the devils were confined to their eternal prison at their expulsion out of heaven, but that they were in a state of liberty to act, though limited in acting, of which I shall also speak in its place.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the number of Satan's Host.—How they came first to know of the new created Worlds now in being, and their measures with Mankind upon the discovery.

Several things have been suggested, to set us a calculating the number of this frightful throng of devils, who with Satan, the master devil, was thus cast out of heaven. I cannot say I am so much master of political arithmetic as to cast up the number of the beast, no, nor the number of beasts or devils who make up this throng. St. Francis, they tell us, or some other saint, they do not say who, asked the Devil once, how

strong he was? for St. Francis, you must know, was very familiar with him. The Devil, it seems, did not tell him; but presently raised a great cloud of dust, by the help, I suppose, of a gust of wind, and bid that saint count it! He was, I suppose, a calculator that would be called grave, who, dividing Satan's troops into three lines, cast up the number of devils of all sorts in each battalia at ten hundred times a hundred thousand million of the first line, and three hundred thousand times as many as both in the third line.

The impertinence of this account would hardly have given it a place here, only to hint, that it has always been the opinion that Satan's name may well be called a noun of multitude, and that the Devil and his angels are certainly no inconsiderable number. It was a smart repartee that a Venetian nobleman made to a priest, who rallied him upon refusing to give something to the church, which the priest demanded for the delivering him from purgatory; when the priest asking him, If he knew what an innumerable number of devils there were to take him? he answered, Yes, he knew how many devils there were in all. How many? says the priest, his curiosity, I suppose, being raised by the novelty of the answer. Why, ten millions, five hundred and eleven thousand, six hundred and seventy-five devils and a half, says the nobleman. And half? says the priest; pray what kind of a devil is that? Yourself, says the nobleman, for you are half a devil already, and will be a whole one when you come there; for you are for deluding all you deal with, and bringing us soul and body into your hands, that you may be paid for letting us go again. So much for their number.

Here also it would come in very aptly, to consider the state of that long interval between the time of their expulsion from heaven, and the creation of the world; and what the posture of the Devil's affairs might be during that time. The horror of their condition can only be conceived of at a distance, and especially by us, who, being embodied creatures, cannot fully judge of

what is, or is not, a punishment to seraph and spirits; but it is just to suppose they suffered all that spirits of a seraphic nature were capable to sustain, consistent with their existence, notwithstanding which, they retained still the hellishness of their rebellious principles; namely, their hatred and rage against GOD, and their envy at the felicity of his creatures.

As to how long their time might be, I shall leave that search, no lights being given me that are either probable or rational; and we have so little room to make a judgment of it, that we may believe father M——, who supposes it to be an hundred thousand years, as those who judge it one thousand years; it is enough that we are sure it was before the creation; how long before is not material to the Devil's history, unless we had some records of what happened to him, or was done by him in the interval.

During the wandering condition the Devil was in at that time, we may suppose him and his whole clan to be employed in exerting their hatred and rage at the Almighty, and at the happiness of the remaining faithful angels, by all the ways they had power to show it.

From this determined stated enmity of Satan and his host against God and at everything that brought glory to his name, Mr. Milton brings in Satan (when first he saw Adam in Paradise, and the felicity of his station there), swelling with rage and envy, and taking up a dreadful resolution to ruin Adam and all his posterity, merely to disappoint his Maker of the glory of its creation. I shall come to speak of that in its place.

How Satan in his remote situation, got intelligence of the place where to find Adam out, or that any such thing as a man was created, is matter of just speculation, and there might be many rational schemes laid for it. Mr. Milton does not undertake to tell us the particulars, nor indeed could he find room for it; perhaps the Devil, having, as I have said, a liberty to range over the whole void or abyss, which we want as well a name for, as indeed powers to conceive of, might have dis-

covered that the Almighty Creator had formed a new and glorious work, with infinite beauty and variety, filling up the immense waste of space in which he (the Devil) and his angels had roved for so long a time, without finding any thing to work on, or to exert their apostate in rage against their Maker.

That at length they found the infinite, untrodden space on a sudden spread full with glorious bodies, shining in self-existing beauty, with a new, and to them unknown, lustre called light. They found these luminous bodies, though immense in bulk, and infinite in number, yet fixed in their wondrous stations, regular and exact in their motions, confined in their proper orbits, tending to their particular centres, and enjoining every one their peculiar systems, within which were contained innumerable planets with their satellites or moons, in which, again, a reciprocal influence, motion and revolution conspired to form the most admirable uniformity of the whole.

Surprised, to be sure, with this sudden and yet glorious work of the Almighty (for the creation was enough, with its lustre, even to surprise the devils), they might reasonably be supposed to start out of their dark retreat, and with a curiosity not below the seraphic dignity (for these are some of the things which the angels desire to look into) to take a flight through all the amazing systems of the fixed suns or stars, which we see now but at a distance, and only make astronomical guesses at.

Here the Devil found not subject of wonder only, but matter to swell his revolted spirit with more rage, and to revive the malignity of his mind against his Maker, and especially against this new increase of glory, which, to his infinite regret, was extended over the whole waste, and which he looked upon, as we say in human affairs, as a *pays conquis*, or if you will have it in the language of the Devil, as an invasion upon his kingdom.

Here it naturally occurred to them, in their state of envy and rebellion, that though they could not assault

the impregnable walls of heaven, and could no more pretend to raise war in the place of blessedness and peace; yet that, perhaps, they might find room in this new, and however glorious, yet inferior kingdom or creation, to work some despite to their Great Creator, or to affront his Majesty in the person of some of his new made creatures; and upon this they may be justly supposed to double their vigilance, in the survey they resolve to take of these new worlds, however great, numberless, and wonderful.

What discoveries they may have made in the other and greater worlds than this earth, we have not yet had an account; possibly they are conversant with other parts of God's creation, besides this little, little globe, which is but as a point in comparison of the rest; and with other of God's creatures besides man, who may, according to the opinion of our philosophers, inhabit those worlds; but as nobody knows that part but the Devil, we shall not trouble ourselves with the inquiry.

But it is very reasonable, and indeed probable, that the devils were more than ordinarily surprised at the nature and reason of all this glorious creation, after they had, with the utmost curiosity, viewed all the parts of it. The glories of the several systems, the immense spaces in which those glorious bodies that were created, and made part of it, were allowed respectively to move; the innumerable fixed stars, as so many suns in the centre of so many distant solar systems; the (likewise innumerable) dark, opaque bodies receiving light, and then reflecting that light again upon, and for the use of one another; to see the beauty and splendour of their forms, the regularity of their position, the order and exactness, and yet inconceivable velocity of their motions, the certainty of their revolutions, and the variety and virtue of their influences; and then, which was even to the devils themselves most astonishing, that after all the rest of their observations, they should find this whole immense work was adapted for, and made subservient to the use, delight, and blessing, only of one

poor species in itself small, and in appearance contemptible. The meanest of all the kinds supposed to inhabit so many glorious worlds, as appeared now to be formed; I mean that moon called the earth, and the creature called man; that all was made for him, upheld by the wise Creator, on his account only, and would necessarily end and cease whenever that species should end, and be determined.

That this creature was to be found nowhere but (as above) in one little individual moon, a spot less than almost any of the moons, which were in such great numbers to be found attendant upon, and prescribed within every system of the whole created heavens. This was astonishing even to the Devil himself; nay, the whole clan of devils could scarce entertain any just ideas of the thing; till at last Satan, indefatigable in his search or inquiry into the nature and reason of this new work, and particularly searching into the species of man, whom he found God had thus placed in the little globe called earth; he soon came to an eclaircissement, or a clear understanding of the whole. For example:—

1. He found this creature, called man, was, however, mean and small in his appearance, a kind of a seraphic species; that he was made in the very image of *God*, endowed with reasonable faculties to know good and evil, and possessed of a certain thing, till then unknown or unheard of, even in hell itself; that is, in the habitation of devils, let them be where it would, viz.
2. That *God* had made him indeed of the lowest and coarsest materials—but that he had breathed into him the breath of life, and that he became a living thing called *soul*, being a kind of an extraordinary, heavenly and divine emanation; and consequently that man, however mean and terrestrial his body might be, was yet heaven-born, in his spirituous part completely seraphic; and after a space of life here (determined to be a state of probation), he

should be translated through the regions of death into a life purely and truly heavenly, and which should remain so for ever; being capable of knowing and enjoying *God* his maker, and standing in his presence, as the glorified angels do.

3. That he had the most sublime faculties infused into him; was capable not only of knowing and contemplating *God*, and which was still more, of enjoying him, as above; but (which the Devil now was not) capable of honouring and glorifying his Maker, who had also condescended to accept of honour from him.
4. And, which was still more, that being of an angelic nature, though mixed with, and confined for the present in a case of mortal flesh, he was intended to be removed from this earth, after a certain time of life here, to inhabit that heaven, and enjoy that very glory and felicity from which Satan and his angels had been expelled.

When he found all this, it presently occurred to him, that *God* had done it all as an act of triumph over him (Satan); and that these creatures were only created to people heaven, depopulated or stripped of its inhabitants by his expulsion, and that these were all to be made angels in the Devil's stead.

If this thought increased his fury and envy, as far as rage of devil's can be capable of being made greater, it doubtless set him on work to give a vent to that rage and envy, by searching into the nature and constitution of this creature, called man; and to find out whether he was invulnerable, and could by no means be hurt by the power of hell, or deluded by his subtilty, or whether he might be beguiled and deluded; and so, instead of being preserved in holiness and purity, wherein he was certainly created, be brought to fall and rebel, as he (Satan) had done before him; by which, instead of being transplanted into a glorious state after this life in heaven, as his Maker had designed him to be, to fill

up the angelic choir, and supply the place from whence he (Satan) had fallen, he might be made to fall also like him, and, in a word, be made a devil like himself.

This convinces us that the Devil has not lost his natural powers by his fall; and our learned commentator Mr. Pool is of the same opinion. Though he grants that the Devil has lost his mortal power, or his power of doing good, which he can never recover. *Vide* Mr. Pool upon Acts xix. 16, where we may particularly observe when the man possessed with an evil spirit flew upon the seven sons of Sheva the Jew, who could have exercised them in the name of Jesus without the authority of Jesus, for without faith in him he flew on them, and mastered them, so that they fled out of the house from the Devil, conquered, naked, and wounded. But of this power of the Devil I shall treat of it by itself.

In a word, and to sum up all the Devil's story from his first expulsion, it stands last. For so many years as were between his fall, and the creation of man, though we have no memoirs of his particular affairs, we have reason to believe he was without any manner of employment; but a certain tormenting endeavour to be always expressing his rage and enmity against heaven, I call it tormenting, because ever disappointed, every thought about it proving empty, every attempt toward it abortive; leaving him only light enough to see still more and more reason to despair of success: and that this made his condition still more and more a hell than it was before.

After a space of duration in this misery, which we have no light given us to measure or judge of, he at length discovered the new creation of man, as above; upon which he soon found matter to set himself to work, and has been busily employed ever since.

And now, indeed, there may be room to suggest a local hell, and the confinement of souls (made corrupt and degenerate by his associates in that place), although he himself, as still apparent, is not yet confined to it.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the Power of the DEVIL, *at the time of the Creation of the World; whether it has not been farther strengthened and limited since that time; and what shifts and stratagems he makes use of to compass his designs upon Mankind.*

CUNNING men have fabled, and though it be without either religion, authority or physical foundation, it may be we may like it never the worse for that; that when God made the stars, and all the heavenly luminaries, the Devil, to mimic his Maker, and insult his new creation, made comets in imitation of the fixed stars; but that the composition of them being combustible, when they came to wander in the abyss, rolling by an irregular, ill-grounded motion, they took fire, in their approach to some of those great bodies of flame, the fixed stars; and being thus kindled (like a fire-work unskilfully let off), they then took wild and eccentric, as also different motions of their own, out of Satan's direction, and beyond his power to regulate ever after.

Let this thought stand by itself, it matters not to our purpose whether we believe any thing of it or no; it is enough to our case, that if Satan had any such power then, he has no such power now; and that leads me to inquire into his more recent limitations.

I am to suppose he and all his accomplices, being confounded at the discovery of the new creation, and racking their wits to find out the meaning of it, had at last (no matter how) discovered the whole system, and concluded, as I have said, that the creature, called man, was to be their successor in the heavenly mansions; upon which I suggest, that the first motion of hell was to destroy this new work, and, if possible, to overwhelm it.

But when they came to make the attempt, they found their chains were not long enough, and that they could

not reach the extremes of the system; they had no power either to break the order, or stop the motion; dislocate the parts, or confound the situation of things; they traversed, no doubt, the whole work, visited every star, landed upon every solid, and sailed upon every fluid, in the whole scheme, to see what mischief they could do.

Upon a long and full survey, they came to this point in their inquiry, that in short, they could do nothing by force; that they could not displace any part, annihilate any atom, or destroy any life, in the whole creation; but that as Omnipotence had created it, so the same Omnipotence had armed it in all points against the utmost power of hell: had made the smallest creature in it invulnerable, as to Satan; so that without the permission of the same power which had made heaven, and conquered the Devil, he could do nothing at all, as to destroying any thing that God had made; no, not the little diminutive thing called man, whom Satan saw so much reason to hate, as being created to succeed him in happiness in heaven,

Satan found him placed out of his power to hurt, or out of his reach to touch; and here, by the way, appears the second conquest of heaven over the Devil; that having placed his rival, as it were, just before his face, and showed the hateful sight to him, he saw written upon his image—*Touch him if you dare.*

It cannot be doubted but, had it not been thus, man is so far from being a match for the Devil, that one of Satan's least imps or angels could destroy all the race of them in the world! ay, world and all, in a moment.

As he is the prince of the power of the air, taking the air for the elementary world, how easily could he, at one blast, sweep all the surface of the earth into the sea; or drive weighty immense surges of the ocean over the whole plain of the earth, and deluge the globe at once with a storm? or how easily could he, who, by the situation of his empire, must be supposed able to manage the clouds, draw them up in such position as should

naturally produce thunders and lightnings, cause those lightnings to blast the earth, dash in pieces all the buildings, burn all the populous towns and cities, and lay waste the world.

At the same time he might command suited quantities of sublimated air to burst out of the bowels of the earth, and overwhelm and swallow up, in the opening chasms, all the inhabitants of the globe.

In a word, Satan left to himself as a devil, and to the power which, by virtue of his seraphic original, he must be vested with, was able to have made devilish work in the world, if, by a superior power, he was not restrained.

But there is no doubt, at least to me, but that with his fall from heaven, as he lost the rectitude and glory of his angelic nature, I mean his innocence, so he lost the power, too, he had before; and that when he first commenced Devil, he received the chains of restraint, too, as the badge of his apostacy; viz., a general prohibition to do anything to the prejudice of his Creator, or to act anything by force or violence without special permission.

This prohibition was not sent him by a messenger, or by an order in writing, or proclaimed from heaven by a law; but Satan, by a strange, invisible, and unaccountable impression, felt the restraint within him; and at the same time that his moral capacity was not taken away, yet his power of exerting that capacity, felt the restraint and left him unable to do even what he was able to do at the same time.

I make no question but the Devil is sensible of this restraint, that is to say, not as it is a restraint only, or as an effect of his expulsion from heaven, but as it prevents his capital design against man, whom for the reason I have given already, he entertains a moral hatred of, and would destroy, with all his heart, if he might; and, therefore, like a chained mastiff, we find him oftentimes making a horrid hellish clamour and noise, barking and howling, and frighting the people,

letting them know that if he was loose he would tear them in pieces; but, at the same time his very fury shakes the chain, which lets know, to their satisfaction he can only bark, but cannot bite.

Some are of opinion that the Devil is not restrained so much by the superior power of his Sovereign Maker: but that all his milder measures with men are the effect of a political scheme, and done upon mature deliberation; that it was resolved to act thus, in the great council or parliament of devils, called upon this very occasion, when they were first informed of the creation of man; and especially when they considered what kind of creature he was, and what might probably be the reason of making him, viz., to fill up the vacancies in heaven; I say, that then the Devil resolved, that it was not for their interest to fall upon him with fury and rage, and to destroy their species; for that this would be no benefit at all to them, and would only cause another original man to be created, for that they knew God could, by the same Omnipotence, form as many new species of creatures as he pleased, and, if he thought fit, create them in heaven too, out of the reach of devils or evil spirits; and that, therefore, to destroy man, would no way answer the end.

On the other hand, examining strictly the mould of this new-made creature, and of what materials he was formed; how mixed up of a nature convertible and pervertible; capable indeed of infinite excellence, and consequently of eternal felicity; but subject likewise to corruption and degeneracy, and consequently to eternal misery; that, instead of being fit to supply the places of Satan and his rejected tribe (the expelled angels) in heaven, and filling up the thrones or stalls in the celestial choir they might, if they could be brought into crime, become a race of rebels and traitors like the rest, and so come at last to keep them company, as well in the place of eternal misery, as in the merit of it; and, in a word, become devils instead of angels.

Upon this discovery, I say, they found it infinitely

more for the interest of Satan's infernal kingdom, to go another way to work with mankind, and to see if it were possible by the strength of their infernal wit and counsels to lay some snare for him, and by some stratagem, to bring him to eternal ruin and misery.

This being then approved as their only method (and the Devil showed he was no fool in the choice), he next, resolved, that there was no time to be lost. That it was to be set about immediately, before the race was multiplied, and by that means the work be not made greater only, but perhaps the more difficult too. Accordingly, the diligent Devil went instantly about it, agreeably to all the story of Eve and the Serpent, as before; the belief of which, whether historically or allegorically, is not at all obstructed by this hypothesis.

I do not affirm that this was the case at first, because being not present in that black divan, at least not that I know of (for who knows where he was, or was not, in his pre-existent state ?) I cannot be positive in the resolve that passed there; but, except for some very little contradictions which we find in the sacred writings, I should, I confess, incline to believe it historically; and I shall speak of those things which I call *contradictions to it*, more largely hereafter.

In the meantime, be it one way or other, that is to say, either Satan had no power to have proceeded with man by violence, and to have destroyed him as soon as he was made; or that he had no power, but chose rather to proceed by other methods, to deceive and debauch him. I say, be it which you please, I am still of opinion, that it really was not the Devil's business to destroy the species; that it would have been nothing to the purpose, and no advantage at all to him, if he had done it; for that, as above, God could immediately have created another species to the same end, whom he either could have made invulnerable, and no t subject to the Devil's power, or removed him out of Satan's reach; placed him out of the Devil's ken, in heaven, or some other place where the Devil could not come to hurt him; and

that, therefore, it is infinitely more his advantage, and more suited to his real design of defeating the end of man's creation, to debauch him and make a devil of him, that he may be rejected like himself, and increase the infernal kingdom and company in the lake of misery *in Æternum.*

It may be true, for aught I know, that Satan has not the power of destruction put into his hands, and that he cannot take away the life of a man; and it seems probable to be so, from the story of Satan and Job, when Satan appeared among the sons of God, as the text says, Job i. 6. Now when God gave such a character of Job to him, and asked him if he had considered his servant Job, ver. 8, why did not the Devil go immediately and exert his malice against the good man at once, to let his Maker see what would become of his servant Job in his distress; on the contrary, we see he only answers by showing the reason of Job's good behaviour; that it was but common gratitude for the blessing and protection he enjoyed, ver. 10; and pleading, that if his estate was taken away, and he was exposed as he (Satan) was, to be a beggar and a vagabond, going to and fro in the earth, and walking up and down therein, he should be a very devil too, like himself, and curse God to his face.

Upon this, the text says, that God answered, ver. 11, "Behold! all that he hath is in thy power." Now it is plain here that God gave up Job's wealth and estate, nay, his family, and the lives of his children and servants, into the Devil's power· and accordingly, like a true merciless Devil, as he is, he destroyed them all; he moved the Sabeans to fall upon the oxen and the asses, and carry them off; he moved the Chaldeans to fall upon the camels and the servants, to carry off the first and murder the last; he made lightning flash upon the poor sheep, and kill them all; and he blowed his house down upon his poor children, and buried them all in the ruins.

Now here is (1.) a specimen of Satan's good-will to

mankind, and what havoc the Devil would make in the world if he might; and here is a testimony, too, that he could not do this without leave; so that I cannot but be of the opinion, he has some limitations, some bounds set to his natural fury; a certain number of links in his chain, which he cannot exceed, or in a word, that he cannot go a foot beyond his tether.

The same kind of evidence we have in the Gospel, (Matth. viii. 31,) where Satan would not so much as possess the filthiest and meanest of all creatures, the swine, till he had asked leave; and that, still to show his good will. as soon as he had gotten leave, he hurried them all into the sea and choked them. These, I say, are some of the reasons why I am not willing to say the Devil is not restrained in power, but, on the other hand, we are told of so many mischievous things the Devil has done in the world, by virtue of his dominion over the elements, and by other testimonies of his power, that I do not know what to think of it; though, upon the whole, the first is the safest opinion; for if we should believe the last, we might, for aught I know, be brought like American Indians, to worship him at last, that he may do us no harm.

And now I have named those people in America, I confess it would go a great way in favour of Satan's generosity, as well as in testimony of his power, if we might believe all the accounts which indeed authors are pretty well agreed in the truth of—namely, of the mischiefs which the Devil does in those countries where his dominion seems to be established, how he uses them when they deny him the homage he claims of them as his due, what havoc and combustion he makes among them, and how beneficent he is (or at least negative in his mischiefs) when they appease him by their hellish sacrifices.

Likewise, we see a test of his wicked subtility in his management of those dark nations, when he was more immediately worshipped by them—namely, the making them believe that all their good weather, rains, dews,

and kind influences upon the earth, to make it fruitful, were from him; whereas, they really were the blessings of a higher hand, and came not from him (the Devil), but from him that made the Devil, and made him a devil or a fallen angel, by his curse.

But to go back to the method the Devil took with the first of mankind; it is plain the policy of hell was right, though the execution of the resolves they took did not fully answer their end neither; for Satan, fastening upon poor, proud, ridiculous mother Eve, as I have said before, made presently a true judgment of her capacities, and of her temper; took her by the right handle, and soothing her vanity, (which is this day the softest place in the head of all the sex), wheedled her out of her senses, by praising her beauty, and promising to make her a goddess.

The foolish woman yielded presently, and that, we are told, is the reason why the same method so strangely takes with all her posterity, viz., that you are sure to prevail with them, if you can but once persuade them that you believe that they are witty and handsome; for the Devil you may observe, never quits any hold he gets; and having found a way into the heart, always takes care to keep the door open, that any of his agents may enter after him without any more difficulty. Hence the same argument, especially the last, has so bewitching an influence on the sex, that they rarely deny you anything after; they are but weak enough, and vain enough, to accept of the praises you offer them on that head. On the other hand, you are sure they never forgive you the unpardonable crime of saying they are ugly or disagreeable. It is suggested that the first method the Devil took to insinuate all those fine things into Eve's giddy head, was by creeping close to her one night, when she was asleep, and laying his mouth to her ear, and whispering all the fine things to her, which he knew would set her fancy on tip-toe, and so make her receive them involuntarily into her mind; knowing well enough, that when she had formed such ideas in her

soul, however they came there, she would never be quiet till she had worked them up to some extraordinary thing or other.

It was evident what the Devil aimed at, namely, that she should break in upon the commands of God, and so, having corrupted herself, bring the curse upon herself and all her race, as God had threatened. But, why the pride of Eve should be so easily tickled by the notion of her exquisite beauty, when there was then no prospect of the use or want of those charms, that indeed makes a kind of difficulty here, which the learned have not determined. For,

1. If she had been as ugly as the Devil, she had nobody to rival her; so that she need not fear Adam should leave her, and get another mistress.

2. If she had been as bright and beautiful as an angel, she had no other admirer than poor Adam; and he could have no room to be jealous of her, or afraid she should cuckold him; so that, in short, Eve had no such occasion for her beauty, nor could she make any use of it to a bad purpose, or to a good; and, therefore, I believe the Devil, who is too cunning to do anything that signifies nothing, rather tempted her by the hope of increasing her wit, than her beauty.

But to come back to the method of Satan's tempting her, namely, by whispering to her in her sleep; it was a cunning trick, that is the truth of it; and by that means he certainly set her head a madding after deism, and to be made a goddess; and then backed it with the subtle talk he had with her afterwards.

I am the more particular upon this part, because, however the Devil may have been the first that ever practised it, yet I can assure him the experiment has been tried upon many a woman since, to the wheedling

her out of her modesty, as well as her simplicity; and the cunning men tell us still, that if you can come at a woman when she is in a deep sleep, and whisper to her close to her ear, she will certainly dream of the thing you say to her, and so will a man too.

Well, be this so to her race or not, it was, it seems, so to her; for she waked with her head filled with pleasing ideas, and, as some will have it, unlawful desires; such as to be sure, she never entertained before. These are supposed to be fatally infused in her dream, and suggested to her waking soul, when the organ of the ear which conveyed them was dosed and insensible. Strange fate of sleeping in Paradise! that whereas, we have but notice of two sleeps there, that in one a woman should go out of Adam, and in the other the Devil should come into Eve.

Certainly, when Satan first made the attempt upon Eve, he did not think he should have so easily conquered her, or brought about his business so soon; the Devil himself could not have imagined she should have been so soon brought to forget the command given, or at least who gave it, and have ventured to transgress against him, and made her forget that God had told her it should be death to her to touch it; and, above all, that she should aspire to be as wise as him, who was so ignorant before, as to believe it was for fear of her being like himself, that he had forbid it her.

Well might she be said to be the weaker vessel, though Adam himself had little enough to say for his being the stronger of the two, when he was over-persuaded (if it was done by persuasion) by his wife to the same thing.

And mark how wise they were after they had eaten, and what fools they had both acted like, even to one another; nay, even all the knowledge they attained to by it was, for aught I see, only to know that they were fools, and to be sensible both of sin and shame; and see how simply they acted, I say, upon their having committed the crime, and being detected in it:—

View them to-day, conversing with their God,
His image both enjoy'd and understood:
To-morrow skulking with a sordid flight
Among the bushes from the infinite,
As if that power was blind, which gave them sight;
With senseless labour tagging fig-leaf vests,
To hide their bodies from the sight of beasts.
Hark! how the fool pleads saint, for forfeit life;
First he reproaches heaven, and then his wife;
The woman which thou gavest, as if the gift
Could rob him of the little reason left;
A weak pretence to shift his early crime,
As if accusing her would excuse him;
But thus encroaching crime dethrones the sense,
And intercepts the heavenly influence;
Debauches reason, makes the man a fool,
And turns his active light to ridicule.

It must be confessed, that it was an unaccountable degeneracy even of their common reasoning, which Adam and Eve both fell into upon the first committing the offence of tasting the forbidden fruit; if that was their being made as gods, it made but a poor appearance in its first coming, to hide their nakedness when there was nobody to see them, and cover themselves among the bushes from their Maker; but thus it was, and this the Devil had brought them to; and well might he, and all the clan of hell, as Mr. Milton brings them in, laugh and triumph over the man after the blow was given, as having so egregiously abused and deluded them both.

But here, to be sure, began the Devil's new kingdom; as he had now succeeded the two first creatures, he was pretty sure of success upon all the race; and, therefore, prepared to attack them also as soon as they came on; nor was their increasing multitude any discouragement to his attempt, but just the contrary; for he had agents enough to employ, if every man and woman that should be born was to want a devil to wait upon them, sepa-

rately and singly to seduce them; whereas, some whole nations have been such willing subjects to him, that one of his seraphic imps may, for aught we know, have been enough to guide a whole country; the people being entirely subjected to his government for many ages, as in America, for example, where some will have it that he conveyed the first inhabitants; at least, if he did not, we don't well know who did, or how they got thither.

And how came all the communication to be so entirely cut off between the nations of Europe and Africa, from whence America must certainly have been peopled, or else the Devil must have done it indeed? I say, how came the communication to be so entirely cut off between them, that except the time whenever it was, that people did at first reach from one to the other, none ever came back to give their friends any account of their success, or invite them to follow? nor did they hear of one another afterwards, as we have reason to think. Did Satan politically keep them thus asunder, lest news from heaven should reach them, and so they should be recovered out of his government; we cannot tell how to give any other rational account of it, that a nation, nay, a quarter of the world, or some will have it to be, half the globe, should be peopled from Europe or Africa, or both, and nobody ever go after them, or come back from them, in above three thousand years after.

Nay, that those countries should be peopled when there was no navigation in use in these parts of the world, no ships made that could carry provisions enough to support the people that sailed in them, but that they must have been starved to death before they could reach the shore of America; the ferry from Europe or Africa in any part (which we have known navigation to be practised in), being at least 1000 miles, and in most places much more.

But as to the Americans, let the Devil and them alone to account for their coming thither; this we are certain

of, that we knew nothing of them for many a hundred years; and when we did, when the discovery was made, they that went from hence found Satan in a full and quiet possession of them, ruling them with an arbitrary government, particular to himself. He had led them into a blind subjection to himself, nay, I might call it devotion (for it was all of religion that was to be found among them); worshipping horrible idols in his name, to whom he directed human sacrifices continually to be made, till he deluged the country with blood, and ripened them up for the destruction that followed, from the invasion of the Spaniards, whom he knew would hurry them all out of the world as fast as he (the Devil) could desire of them.

But to go back a little to the original of things; it is evident that Satan has made a much better market of mankind, by thus subtilely attacking them, and bringing them to break with their Maker, as he had done before them; than he could have done by fulminating upon them at first, and sending them all out of the world at once; for now he has peopled his own dominions with them; and though a remnant are snatched, as it were, out of his clutches, by the agency of invincible grace, of which I am not to discourse in this place, yet this may be said of the Devil without offence, that he has in some sense carried his point, and as it were, forced his Maker to be satisfied with a part of mankind, and the least part too, instead of the great glory he would have brought to himself by keeping them all in his service.

Mr. Milton, as I have noted above, brings in the Devil and all hell with him, making a *feu de joye* for the victory Satan obtained over one silly woman. Indeed, it it was a piece of success, greater in its consequence than in the immediate appearance; nor was the conquest so complete as Satan himself imagined to make, since the promise of a redemption out of his hands, which was immediately made to the man, in behalf of himself and his believing posterity, was a great disappointment to

Satan, and, as it were, snatched the best part of his victory out of his hands.

It is certain the devils knew what the meaning of that promise was, and who was to be the seed of the woman, namely, the incarnate Son of God; and that it was a second blow to the whole infernal body; but, as if they had resolved to let that alone, Satan went on with his business; and as he had introduced crime into the common parent of mankind, and thereby secured the contamination of blood, and the descent or propagation of the corrupt seed, he had nothing to do but to assist nature in time to come, to carry on its own rebellion, and act itself in the breasts of Eve's tainted posterity; and that, indeed, has been the Devil's business ever since his first victory upon the kind, to this day.

His success in this part has been such, that we see upon innumerable occasions, a general defection has followed; a kind of taint upon nature, call it what you will, a blast upon the race of mankind; and were it not for one thing, namely, a select company or number, which his Maker has resolved he shall not be able to corrupt, or if he does, the sending the promised seed shall recover back again from him, by the power of irresistible grace; which number thus selected or elected, call it which we will, are still to supply the vacancies in heaven, which Satan's detection has left open; and what was before filled up with created seraphs, is now to be restored by recovered saints, by whom infinite glory is to accrue to the kingdom of the Redeemer.

This glorious establishment has robbed Satan of all the joy of his victory, and left him just where he was defeated and disappointed; nor does the passion of all the myriads of the sons of perdition, who yet (some are of opinion) will be snatched from him too at last; I say, the possession of all these makes no amends to him; for he is such a devil in his nature, that the envy at those he cannot seduce, eats out all the satisfaction of the mischief he has done in seducing all the rest; but I

must not preach, so I return to things as much needful to know, though less solemn.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the progress of Satan in carrying on his conquest over Mankind, from the fall of Eve to the deluge.

I DOUBT if the Devil was asked the question plainly, he would confess, that after he had conquered Eve by his own wicked contrivance, and then, by her assistance, had brought Adam too (like a fool as he was) into the same gulf of misery, he thought he had done his work, compassed the whole race, that they were now his own, and that he had put an end to the grand design of their creation, namely, of peopling heaven with a new angelic race of souls, who, when glorified, should make up the defection of the host of hell, that had been expunged by their crime; in a word, that he had gotten a better conquest than if he had destroyed them all.

But, in the midst of his conquest, he found a check put to the advantages he expected to reap from his victory, by the immediate promise of grace to a part of the posterity of Adam, who, notwithstanding the fall, were to be purchased by the Messiah, and snatched out of his (Satan's) hands, and over whom he could make no final conquest; so that his power met with a new limitation, and that such as indeed fully disappointed him in the main thing he aimed at, namely, preventing the beatitudes of mankind; which were thus secured, (and what if the number of mankind were upon this account increased in such a manner, that the selected number should, by length of time, amount to just as many as the whole race had they not fallen would have amounted to in all?) and thus, indeed, the world may be said to be upheld and continued for the sake of those few; since, till their number can be completed, the

creation cannot fall, any more than that without them, or but for them, it would not have stood.

But leaving the speculation, and not having inquired of Satan what he has said on that subject, let us go back to the antediluvian world. The Devil, to be sure, gained his point upon Eve, and in her upon all her race; he drew her into sin, got her turned out of Paradise, and the man with her. The next thing was to go to work with her posterity, and particularly with her two sons Cain and Abel.

Adam having, notwithstanding his fall, repented very severely of his sin, received the promise of redemption and pardon, with an humble but believing heart; charity bids us suppose that he led a very religious and sober life ever after; and, especially in the first part of his time, that he brought up his children very soberly, and gave them all the necessary advantages of a religious education, and a good introduction into the world that he was capable of; and that Eve likewise assisted too both in her place and degree.

Their two eldest sons, Cain and Abel, the one heir apparent to the patriarchal empire, and the other heir presumptive, I suppose, also lived very sober and religious lives; and as the principles of natural religion dictated an homage and subjection to the Almighty Maker, as an acknowledgment of his mercies, and a recognition of their obedience; so the receiving usage of religion dictating, at that time, that this homage was to be paid by a sacrifice, that either of them brought a free-will offering to be predicated to God respectively for themselves and families.

How it was, and for what reason, that God had respect to the offering of Abel, which, the learned say, was a lamb of the firstlings of the flock, and did not give any testimony of the like respect to Cain and his offering, which was of the first fruits of the earth, the offerings being equally suited to the respective employment of the men, that is not my present business; but this we find made heart-burnings, and raised envy and jealousy

in the mind of Cain, and at that door the Devil immediately entered; for he, who from the beginning, was very diligent in his way, never slipped any opportunity, or missed any advantages, that the circumstances of mankind offered him to do mischief.

What shape or appearance the Devil took up to enter into a conversation with Cain upon the subject, that authors do not take upon them to determine; but it is generally supposed he personated some of Cain's sons or grandsons to begin the discourse, who attacked their father, or perhaps grandfather, upon this occasion, in the following manner, or to that purpose:—

D. Sir, I perceive your majesty (for the first race were certainly all monarchs as great as kings, to their immediate posterity), to be greatly disturbed of late; your countenance is changed, your noble cheerfulness, the glories of your face are strangely sunk and gone, and you are not the man you used to be. Please your majesty to communicate your griefs to us, your children: you may be sure, that, if it be possible, we will procure your relief, and restore your delights, the loss of which, if thus you go on to subject yourself to too much melancholy, will be very hurtful to you, and, in the end, to destroy you.

Cain. It is very kind, my dear children, to show your respect thus to your true progenitor, and to offer your assistance; I confess, as you say, my mind is oppressed and displeased; but, though it is very heavy, yet I know not which way to look for relief; for the distemper is above our reach, no cure can be found for it on earth.

D. Do not say so, sir—there can be no disease sure on earth, but may be cured on earth; if it be a mental evil, we have heard that your great ancestor, the first father of us all, who lives still on the great western plains towards the sea, is the oracle to which all his children fly for direction in such cases as are out of the reach of the ordinary understanding of mankind; please you to give leave, we will take a journey to him,

and, representing your case to him, we will hear his advice, and bring it to you with all speed, for the ease of your mind.

Cain. I know not whether he can reach my case or no.

D. Doubtless, he may ; and, if not, the labour of our journey is nothing, when placed in competition with the ease of your mind ; it is but a few days travel lost, and you will not be the worse, if we fail of the desired success.

Cain. The offer is filial, and I accept your affectionate concern for me, with the just sense of an obliged parent ; go then, and my blessing be upon you. But alas ! why do I bless ! can he bless whom God has not blessed ?

D. O sir, do not say so ! has not God blessed you ? are you not the second sovereign of the earth ; and does he not converse with you, face to face ? are you not the oracle to all your growing posterity ; and next after his Sovereign Imperial Majesty, Lord Adam, patriarch of the world.

Cain. But has not God rejected me, and refused to converse any more with me, while he daily favours and countenances my younger brother Abel, as if he resolved to set him up to rule over me.

D. No, sir, that cannot be, you cannot be disturbed at such a thing ; is not the right of sovereignty yours by primogeniture ? can God make himself take that away, when it is once given ? are you not Lord Adam's eldest son ? are not you the first-born glory of the creation ? and does not the government descend to you by the divine right of birth and blood ?

Cain. But what does all that signify to me, while God appears to favour and caress my younger brother, and to shine upon him, while a black dejection and token of displeasure surrounds me every day, and he does not appear to me as he used to do ?

D. And what need your Majesty be concerned at that, if it be so ? if he does not appear pleased, you have the whole world to enjoy yourself in, and all your

numerous and rising posterity adore and honour you. What need these remote things be any disturbance to you.

Cain. How! my children, not the favour of God be valued; yes, yes, in his favour is life; what can all the world avail without the smiles and countenance of him that made it.

D. Doubtless, sir, he that made the world, and placed you at the head of it all, to govern and direct it, has made it agreeable; and is able to give you a full satisfaction and enjoyment, if you please to consider it well, though you were never to converse with him all the while you live in it.

Cain. You are quite wrong there, my children, quite wrong.

D. But do you not, great sir, see all your children, as well as us, rejoicing at the plenty of all things, and are they not completely happy, and yet they know little of that great God? He seldom converses among us; we hear of him, indeed, by your sage advices, and we bring our offerings to you for him, as you direct; and when that's done, we enjoy whatever our hearts desire; and so, doubtless, may you in an abundant manner, if you please.

Cain. But your felicity is wrong placed then, or you suppose that God is pleased and satisfied in that your offerings are brought to me; but what would you say, if you knew that God is displeased; that he does not accept your offerings? that when I sacrificed to him in behalf of you all, he rejected my offerings, though I brought a princely gift, being of the finest of the wheat, the choicest and earliest fruits, and the sweetest of the oil, an offering suited to the giver of them all?

D. But if you offered them, sir, how are you sure they were not accepted?

Cain. Yes, yes, I am sure; did not my brother Abel offer at the same time, a lamb of his flock; for he, you know, delights in cattle, and covers the mountains with his herds; over him, all the while he was sacrificing, a

bright emanation shone, cheering and enlivening, a pledge of favour; and light ambient flames played hovering in the lower air, as if attending his sacrifice; and, when ready prepared, immediately descended, and burnt up the flesh, a sweet odoriferous savour ascending to him, who thus testified his acceptance; whereas, over my head, a black cloud, misty and distilling vapour, hung dripping upon the humble altar I had raised, and wetting the finest and choicest things I had prepared, sullied and defaced them, the wood, unapt to burn upon the moisture which fell, scarce received the fire I brought to kindle it; and, even then, rather smothered and choked than kindled into a flame; in a word, it went quite out, without consuming what was brought to be offered up.

D. Let not our truly reverenced lord and father be disquieted at all this; if he accepts not what you bring, you are discharged of the debt, and need bring no more; nor have the trouble of such laboured collections of rarities any more; when he thinks fit to require it again, you will have no notice, no question, and then it being called for, will be accepted, or else why should it be required?

Cain. That may indeed be the case, nor do I think of attempting any more to bring an offering; for I rather take it, I am forbidden for the present. But, then, what is it that my younger brother triumphs in? and how am I insulted, in that he and his house are all joy and triumph, as if they had some great advantage over me, in that their offering was accepted, when mine was not?

D. Does he triumph over your majesty, our lord and sovereign? Give us but your order, and we will go and pull him and all generation to pieces; for to triumph over you, who is his elder brother, is a horrid rebellion and treason, and he ought to be expelled the society of mankind.

Cain. I think so too, indeed; however, my dear children, and faithful subjects, though I accept your

offer of duty and service, yet I will consider very well, before I take up arms against my brother; besides, our sovereign father, and patriarchal lord Adam, being yet alive, it is not my right to act offensively without his command.

D. We are ready, therefore, to carry your petition to him, and doubt not to obtain his license and commission too, to empower you to do yourself justice upon your younger brother; who, being your vassal, or at least inferior, he is junior in birth, insults you upon the fancied opinion of having a larger share in the Divine favour, and receiving a blessing on his sacrifices, or pretence of the same favour being denied you.

Cain. I am content; go then, and give a just account of the state of our affairs.

D. We shall soon return with the agreeable answer. Let not our lord and father continue sad and dejected, but depend upon a speedy relief, by the assistance of thy numerous issue, all devoted to thy interest and felicity.

Cain. My blessing be with you in the way, and give you a favourable reception at the venerable tent of our universal lord and father.

NOTE.—Here the cursed race being fully given up to the direction of the evil spirit, which so early possessed them, and swelling with rage at the innocent Abel and his whole family, they resolved upon forming a most wicked and detestable lie, to bring about the advice which they had already given their father Cain a touch of; and to pretend that Adam, being justly provoked at the undutiful behaviour of Abel, had given Cain a commission to chastise him, and by force to cut him off, and all his family, as guilty of rebellion and pride.

Filled with this mischievous and bloody resolution, they came back to their father Cain, after staying a few days, such as were sufficient to make Cain believe they had been at the spacious plains where Adam dwelt; the same which are now called the blessed valleys, or the plains of Mecca in Arabia Felix, near the banks of the Red Sea.

Note here also,—That Cain having received a wicked hint from those men, his children and subjects, as before, intimating that Abel had broken the law of primogeniture in his behaviour towards him (Cain); and that he might be justly punished for it; Satan, that cunning manager of all our wayward passions, fanned the fire of envy and jealousy with his utmost skill all the while his other agents were absent; and by the time they came back, had blown it up into such a heat of fury and rage, that it wanted nothing but air to make it burn out, as it soon afterwards did, in a furious flame of wrath and revenge, even to blood and destruction.

Just in the very critical moment, while things stood thus with Cain, Satan brings in his wicked instruments, as if just arrived with the return of his message from Adam, at whose court they had been for orders; and thus they, that is, the Devil, assuming to speak by them, approach their father with an air of solemn but cheerful satisfaction at the success of their embassy.

D. Hail sovereign, reverend, patriarchal lord! we come with joy to render thee an account of the success of our message.

Cain. Have you then seen the venerable tents where dwell the heaven-born, the angelic pair, to whom all human reverence, highly due, is and ought always to be humbly paid?

D. We have.

Cain. Did you, together with my grand request a just and humble homage for me pay, to the great sire and mother of mankind?

D. We did.

Cain. Did you in humble language represent the griefs and anguish which oppress my soul?

D. We did, and back their blessings to thee bring.

Cain. I hope with humblest sighs of filial duty, you took it for me on bended knees?

D We did, and had our share; the patriarch lifted

up his hands to heaven, expressed his joy to see his spreading race, and blessed us all.

Cain. Did you my solemn message too deliver, my injuries impartially lay down, and due assistance and direction crave?

D. We did.

Cain. What spoke the oracle? he is God to me; what just command do ye bring? what is to be done? am I to bear the insulting junior's rage? and meekly suffer what unjustly he, affronting primogeniture, and laws of God and man, imposed by his pride insufferable? am I to be crushed, and be no more the first-born son on earth, but bow and kneel to him?

D. Forbid it heaven! as Adam too forbids, who, with justice God-like, and peculiar to injured parents, Abel's pride resents, and gives his high command to thee to punish.

Cain. To punish say you? did he use the word, the very word? am I commissioned then to punish Abel?

D. Not Abel only, but his rebel race, as they, alike in crime, alike are joined in punishment.

Cain. The race, indeed, have shared the merit with him. How did they all insult, and, with a shout of triumph, mock my sorrow, when they saw me from my sacrifice dejected come, as if my disappointment was their joy.

D. This, too, the venerable prince represents; and to preserve the race in bounds of law subordinate and limited to duty, commands that this breach be not passed by, lest the precedent upon record stand to future times to encourage like rebellion.

Cain. And is it, then, my sovereign parent's will?

D. It is his will, that his eldest son, his image, his beloved should be maintained in all the rights of sovereignty derived to thee from him; and not to be left exposed to injury, and power usurped, but should do thyself justice on the rebel race.

Cain. And so I will. Abel shall quickly know what it is to trample on his elder brother—shall know that he

is thus sentenced by his father; and I am commissioned but to execute his command, his sentence, which is God's; and that he falls by the hand of heavenly justice.

So now Satan had done his work, he had deluded the mother to a breach against the first and only command; he had drawn Adam into the same snare; and now he brings in Cain, prompted by his own rage, and deluded by his (Satan's) craft, to commit murder, nay, fratricide, an aggravated murder.

Upon this he sends out Cain, while the bloody rage was in its ferment, and wickedly, at the same time, bringing Abel, innocent, and fearing no ill, just in his way, he suggests to his thoughts such words as these:—

Look you Cain: see how Divine justice concurs with your father's righteous sentence; see, there is thy brother Abel directed by Heaven to fall into thy hands unarmed, unguarded, that thou mayest do thyself justice upon him without fear. See, thou mayest kill him; and if thou hast a mind to conceal it, no eyes can see, or will the world ever know it; so that no resentment or revenge upon thee or thy posterity can be apprehended, but it may be said some wild beast had rent him; nor will any one suggest that thou his brother and superior, could possibly be the person.

Cain, prepared for the fact by his former avowed rage and resolution of revenge, was so much the less prepared to avoid the snare thus artfully contrived by the master of all subtlety, the Devil: so he immediately runs upon his brother Abel, and, after a little unarmed resistance, the innocent poor man expecting no such mischief, was conquered and murdered, after which, as is supposed, the exasperated crew of Cain's outrageous race overrun all his family and household, killing man, woman, and child.

It is objected here, that we have no authority in Scripture to prove this part of the story; but I answer, it is not likely but that Abel, as well as Cain, being at

man's estate long before this, had several children by their own sisters; for they were the only men in the world who were allowed the marrying their own sisters, there being no other women then in the world. And as we never read of any of Abel's posterity, it is likewise as probable they were all murdered, as that they should kill Abel only, whose sons might immediately fall upon Cain for the blood of their father, and so the world have been involved in a civil war as soon as there were two families in it.

But be so or not, it is not doubted the Devil wrought with Cain in the horrid murder, or he had never done it. Whether it was directly, or by agents, is not material, nor is the latter unlikely; and if the latter, then there is no probability in the story; for why might not he who made use of the serpent to tempt Eve, be as well supposed to make a tool of some of Cain's sons or grandsons to prompt him in the wicked attempt of murdering his brother? and why must we be obliged to bring in a miracle, or an apparition, into the story, to make it probable that the Devil had any hand in it, when it was so natural to a degenerate race to act in such a manner.

However it was, and by whatever tool the Devil wrought, it is certain that this was the consequence, poor Abel was butchered; and thus the Devil made a second conquest on God's creation; for Adam was now, as may be said, really childless; for his two sons were thus far lost, Abel was killed, and Cain was cursed, and driven out from the presence of the Lord, and his race blasted with him.

It would be an useful inquiry here, and worthy our giving an account of, could we come to a certainty in it; namely, what was the mark that God set upon Cain by which he was kept from being fallen upon by Abel's friends or relations, but as this does not belong to the Devil's history, and it was God's mark, not the Devil's, I have nothing to do with it here.

The Devil had now gained his point—the kingdom of

grace, so newly elected, had been as it were extinct without a new creation, had not Adam and Eve been alive, and had not Eve, though now 130 years of age been a breeding young lady; for we must suppose the women, in that state of longevity, bare children till they were seven or eight hundred years old. This teeming of Eve peopled not the world so much, as it restored the blessed race—for though Abel was killed Cain had a numerous offspring presently, which, had Seth (Adam's third son) never been born, would soon have replenished the world with people, such as they were; the seed of a murderer, cursed of God, branded with a mark of infamy, and who, afterwards, fell all together in the universal ruin of the race by the deluge.

But, after the murder of Abel, Adam had another son born, namely, Seth, the father of Enos, and, indeed, the father of the holy race; for during his time and his son Enos, the text says,—"That men began to call on the name of the Lord;" that is to say, they began to look back upon Cain and his wicked race; and, being convinced of the wickedness they had committed, and led their whole posterity into, they began to sue to Heaven for pardon of what was past, and to lead a new sort of life.

But the Devil had met with too much success in his first attempts, not to go on with his general resolution of debauching the minds of men, and bringing them off from God; and, therefore, as he kept his hold upon Cain's cursed race, embroiled already in blood and murder, so he proceeded with his degenerate offspring, till in a word, he brought both the holy seed and the degenerate race, to join in one universal consent of crime, and to go in it with such aggravating circumstances, as that it repented the Lord that he had made men; and he resolved to overwhelm them again with a general destruction, and clear the world of them.

The succession of blood in the royal original line of Adam, is preserved in the sacred histories, and brought

down as low as Noah and his three sons, for a continued series of 1450 years, say some; 1640, say others; in which time, sin spread itself so generally through the whole race, and the sons of God, so the Scripture calls the men of the righteous seed, the progeny of Seth, came in unto the daughters of men, joined themselves to the cursed race of Cain, and married promiscuously with them, according to their fancies, the women, it seems, being beautiful and tempting; and though the Devil could not make the women handsome or ugly in one or other families, yet he might work up the gust of wicked inclination on either side, so as to make both the men and women tempting and agreeable to one another, where they ought not to have been so; and, perhaps, as it is often seen to this day, the more tempting for being under a legal restraint.

It is objected here, that we do not find in the Scripture, that the men and women of either race were at that time forbidden intermarrying with one another; and it is true, literally they were not forbid; but if we did not search rather to make doubts than to explain them, we might suppose it was forbidden by some particular command at that time, seeing we may reasonably allow everything to be forbidden which they are taxed with as a crime in committing; and as the sons of God taking them wives as they thought fit to choose, though from among the daughters of the cursed race, is there charged upon them as a general depravation, and a great crime, and for which, it is said, God even repented that he had made them, we need go no farther to satisfy ourselves that it was certainly forbidden.

Satan, no doubt too, had a hand in this wickedness; for as it was his business to prompt men to do every thing which God had prohibited, so the reason given why the men of those days did this thing was, they saw the daughters of men, that is, of the wicked race, or forbidden sort, were fair. He tempted them by the lust of the eye; and, in a word, the ladies were beautiful and agreeable, and the Devil knew how to make use of

the allurement; the men liked and took them by the mere direction of their fancy and appetite, without regarding the supreme prohibition. They took them wives of all which they chose, or such as they like to choose.

But the text adds, that this promiscuous generation went farther than the mere outward crime of it; for it showed that the wickedness of the heart of man was great before God, and that he resented it. In short, God perceived that a degeneracy, or defect of virtue, had seized upon the whole race; that there was a general corruption of manners, a depravity of nature upon them, that even the holy seed was tainted with it; that the Devil had broken in upon them, and prevailed to a great degree; that not only the practice of the age was corrupt, for that God could easily have restrained, but that the very heart of man was debauched, his desires wholly vitiated, and his senses engaged in it; so that, in a word, it became necessary to show the divine displeasure, not in the ordinary manner, by judgments and reproofs of such kinds as usually reclaim men, but by a general destruction to sweep them away, clear the earth of them, and put an end to their wickedness at once, removing the offence and the offenders all together. This is signified at large, Gen. vi. 5, "God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually." And again, verses 11 and 12, "The earth was also corrupt before God; and the earth was filled with violence. And God looked upon the earth, and behold it was corrupt, for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth."

It must be confessed, it was a strange conquest the Devil had made in the antediluvian world; that he had, as I may say, brought the whole race of mankind into a general revolt from God. Noah was indeed a preacher of righteousness; and he had preached about five hundred years to as little purpose as most of the good ministers ever did; for we do not read there was one man

converted by him, or at least not one of them left; for that, at the deluge, there was either none of them alive, or none spared but Noah, and his three sons, and their wives, and even they are (it is evident) recorded, not so much to be saved for their own goodness, but because they were his sons. Nay, without breach of charity, we may conclude, that at least one went to the Devil even of those three, namely, Ham or Cham, for triumphing in a brutal manner over his father's drunkenness; for we find the special curse reached to him and his posterity for many ages; and whether it went no farther than the present state of life with them, we cannot tell.

We will suppose, now, through this whole 1500 years the Devil, having so effectually debauched mankind, had advanced his infernal kingdom to a prodigious height; for the text says, "The whole earth was filled with violence." In a word, blood, murder, rape, robbery, oppression, and injustice, prevailed everywhere; and men, like the wild bears in the forest, lived by prey, biting and devouring one another.

At this time Noah begins to preach a new doctrine to them; for as he had before been a preacher of righteousness, he next becomes a preacher of vengeance. First, he tells them they shall be all overwhelmed with a deluge; that, for their sins, God repented they were made, and that he would destroy them all; adding, that, to prevent the ruin of himself and family, he resolved to build him a ship, to have recourse to when the water should come over the rest of the world.

What jesting, what scorn, what contempt, did this work expose the good old man to for above a hundred years? for so long the work was building, as ancient authors say. Let us represent to ourselves, in the most lively manner, how the witty world behaved at that time to poor old Noah; how they took their evening walks to see what he was doing, and passed their judgment upon it, and upon the progress of it; I say, to represent this to ourselves, we need go no farther than

to our own witticisms upon religion, and upon the most solemn mysteries of divine worship; how we damn the serious for enthusiasts, think the grave mad, and the sober melancholy; call religion itself *Flatus* and *Hypo*; make the devout ignorant, the divine mercenary, and the whole scheme of divinity a frame of priestcraft. And thus, no doubt, the building an ark or boat, or whatever they called it, to float over the mountains, and dance over the plains, what could it be but a religious frenzy, and the man that so busied himself a lunatic? and all this in an age when divine things came by immediate revelation into the minds of men? The Devil must, therefore, have made a strange conquest upon mankind, to obliterate all the reverence which but a little before was so strangely impressed upon them concerning their Maker.

This was certainly the height of the Devil's kingdom, and we shall never find him arrive at such a pitch again. He was then literally and truly the universal monarch, nay, the God of this world, and, as all tyrants do, he governs them with an arbitrary, absolute sway; and had not God thought fit to give him a writ of ejectment, and afterwards drawn him out of possession, I known not what would have been the case. He might have kept his hold, for aught I know, till the seed of the woman came to bruise his head, that is to say, cripple his government, dethrone him, and depose his power, as has been fulfilled in the Messiah.

But as he was, I say, drowned out of the world, his kingdom for the present was at an end; at least, if he had a dominion, he had no subjects; and as the creation was in a manner renewed, so the Devil had all his work to do over again. Unhappy man! how has he, by his weak resistance, made the Devil's recovering his hold too easy to him, and given him all the advantages, except as before excepted, which he had before? Now, whether he retired in the meantime, and how he got footing again after Noah and his family were landed upon the new surface, that we come next to inquire.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the Devil's second kingdom, and how he got footing in the renewed World, by his victory over Noah and his Race.

The story of Noah, his building the ark, his embarking himself and all nature's stock for a new world on board it, the long voyage they took, and the bad weather they met with, though it would embellish this work very well, and come in very much to the purpose in this place, yet as it does not belong to the Devil's story, for I cannot prove what some suggest, viz —that he was in the ark among the rest—I say, for that reason I must omit it.

And now, having mentioned Satan's being in the ark, as I say, I cannot prove it, so there are, I think, some good reasons to believe he was not there: 1st. I know no business he had there. 2dly. We read of no mischief done there. And these, joined together, make me conclude he was absent. The last I chiefly insist upon, that we read of no mischief done there; which, if he had been in the ark, would certainly have happened. And, therefore, I suppose rather, that when he saw his kingdom dissolved, his subjects all ingulfed in an inevitable ruin and desolation, a sight suitable enough to him, except as it might unking him for a time, I say, when he saw this, he took care to speed himself away, as well as he could, and make his retreat to a place of safety. Where that was, is no more difficult to us than it was to him.

It is suggested, that as he is a prince of the power of the air, he retired only into that region. It is most rational to suppose he went no farther, on many accounts, of which I shall speak by and by. Here he stayed hovering in the earth's atmosphere, as he has often done since, and, perhaps, now does; or, if the

atmosphere of this globe was affected by the indraught of the absorption, as some think, then he kept himself upon the watch, to see what the event of the new phenomenon would be; and this watch, whatever it was, I doubt not, was as near the earth as he could place himself, perhaps, in the atmosphere of the moon, or, in a word, the next place of retreat he could find.

From hence I took upon me to insist, that Satan has not a more certain knowledge of events than we; I say, he has not a more certain knowledge; that he may be able to make stronger conjectures, and more rational conclusion from what he sees, I will not deny; and that which he most undoes us in, is, that he sees more to conclude from than we can; but I am satisfied he knows nothing of futurity more than we can see by observation and inference; nor, for example, did he know whether God would re-people the world any more or not.

I must, therefore, allow, that he only waited to see what would be the event of this strange eruption of water, and what God proposed to do with the ark and all that was in it.

Some philosophers tell us, besides what I hinted above, that the Devil could have no retreat in the earth's atmosphere; for that the earth being wholly condensed into water, and having continually poured down its streams to deluge the earth, that body was become so small, and had suffered such convulsion, that there was but just enough of air left to surround the water, or as might serve by its pressure to preserve the natural position of things, and supply the creatures in the ark with a part to breathe in.

The atmosphere, indeed, might suffer some strange and unnatural motions at that time, but not (I believe) to that degree; however, I will not affirm that there could be room in it, or is now, for the Devil, much less for all the numberless legions of Satan's host; but there was, and now certainly is, sufficient space to receive him, and a sufficient body of his troops for the business

he had for them at that time, and that is enough to the purpose; or if the earth's atmosphere did suffer any particular convulsion on that occasion, he might make his retreat to the atmosphere of the moon, or of Mars, or of Venus, or any of the other planets, for he that is prince of the air could not want retreats in such a case, from whence he might watch the issue of things; certainly he did not go far, because his business lay here, and he never goes out of his way of doing mischief.

In particular, his more than ordinary concern was to see what would become of the ark; he was wise enough, doubtless, to see that God, who had directed its making, nay, even the very structure of it, would certainly take care of it, preserve it upon the water, and bring it to some place of safety or other; though where it should be, the Devil, with all his cunning, could not resolve; whether on the same surface, the waters drawn off, or in any other created, or to-be-created place; and this state of uncertainty being evidently his case, and which proves his ignorance of futurity, it was his business, I say, to watch with the utmost vigilance for the event.

If the ark was (as Mr. Burnett thinks) guided by two angels, they not only held it from foundering, or being swallowed up in the water, but certainly kept the waters calm about it, especially when the Lord brought a strong wind to blow over the whole globe, which, by the way, was the first, and, I suppose, the only universal storm that ever blew; for to be sure it blew over the whole surface at once; I say, if it was thus guided, to be sure the Devil saw it, and that with envy and regret that he could do no injury; for, doubtless, had it been in the Devil's power, as God had drowned the whole race of man, except what was in the ark, he would have taken care to have dispatched them too, and so made an end of the creation at once; but either he was not empowered to go to the ark, or it was so well guarded by angels, that, when he came near it, he could do it no harm. So it rested at length, the waters abating on

the mountains of Ararat, in Armenia, or somewhere else that way, and where they say a piece of the keel is remaining to this day;—of which, however, with Dr. ——, I say, I believe not one word.

The ark being safely landed, it is reasonable to believe Noah prepared to go on shore, as the seamen call it, as soon as the dry land began to appear; and here you must allow me to suppose Satan, though himself clothed with a cloud, so as not to be seen, came immediately, and perched on the roof, saw all the heaven-kept household safe landed, and all the host of living creatures dispersing themselves down the sides of the mountains, as the search of their food, or other proper occasions directed them,

This sight was enough. Satan was at no loss to conclude from hence, that the design of God was to re-people the world by the way of ordinary generation, from the posterity of these eight persons, without creating any new species.

Very well says the Devil, then my advantage over them, by the snare I laid for poor Eve, is good still; and I am now just where I was after Adam's expulsion from the garden, and when I had Cain and his race to go to work with, for here is the old, expunged, corrupted race still; as Cain was the object then, so Noah is my man now; and if I do not master him one way or other, I am mistaken in my mark,—Pardon me for making a speech for the Devil,

Noah, big with a sense of his late condition, and while the wonders of the deluge were fresh in his mind, spent his first days in the ecstacies of his soul, giving thanks, and praising the power that had been his protection in and through the floods of waters, and which had in so miraculous a manner safely landed him on the surface of the newly-discovered land; and the text tells us as one of the first things he was employed in,—"He built an altar unto the Lord, and offered burnt offerings upon the altar."—Gen. viii. 20.

While Noah was thus employed he was safe, the

Devil himself could no where break in upon him; and we may suppose very reasonably, as he found the old father invulnerable, he left him for some years, watching, notwithstanding, all possible advantages against his sons and their children; for now the family began to increase, and Noah's sons had several children; whether himself had any more children after the flood or not, that we are not arrived to any certainty about.

Among his sons the Devil found Japheth and Shem, good, pious, religious, and very devout persons, serving God daily, after the example of their good old father Noah; and he could make nothing of them, or of any of their posterity; but Ham, the second, or according to some, the younger son of Noah, had a son who was named Canaan, a loose young profligate fellow; his education was probably but cursory and superficial, his father Ham not being near so religious and serious a man as his brothers Shem and Japheth were; and, as Canaan's education was defective, so he proved, as untaught youth generally do, a wild, and in short, a very wicked fellow, and consequently a fit tool for the Devil to go to work with.

Noah, a diligent, industrious, man, being with all his family thus planted in the rich, fruitful plains of Armenia, or wherever you please, let it be near the mountains of Caucasus or Ararat, went immediately to work, cultivating and improving the soil, increasing his cattle and pastures, sowing corn, and among other things planted trees for food; and among the fruit trees he planted vines, of the grapes whereof he made, no doubt, as they still in the same country do make, most excellent wine, rich, luscious, strong, und pleasant.

I cannot come into the notion of our critics, who to excuse Noah from the guilt of what followed, or at least from the censure, tell us, he knew not the strength of the nature of wine; but that gathering the heavy clusters of the grapes, and their own weight crushing out their balmy juices into his hand, he tasted the

tempting liquor, and that, the Devil assisting, he was charmed with the delicious fragrance, and tasted again and again, pressing it out into a bowl or dish, that he might take a large quantity, till at length, the heady froth ascended and seized his brain; he became intoxicated and drunk, not in the least imagining there was any such strength in the juice of that excellent fruit.

But to make out this story, which is, indeed, very favourable for Noah, but in itself extremely ridiculous, you must necessarily fall into some absurdities, and beg the question most egregiously in some particular cases; which way of arguing will by no means support what is suggested; at first, you must suppose there was no such thing as wine made before the deluge, and that nobody had ever been made drunk with the juice of the grape before Noah; which, I say, is begging the question in the grossest manner.

If the contrary is true, as I see no reason to question; if, I say, it was true, that there was wine drank, and that men were or had been drunk with it before, they cannot then but suppose, that Noah, who was a wise, a great, and good man, and a preacher of righteousness, both knew of it, and without doubt had, in his preaching against their crimes, preached against this amongst the rest, upbraiding them with it, reproved them for it, and exhorting them against it.

Again it is highly probable they had grapes growing, and, consequently, wines made from them in the antediluvian world, how else did Noah come by the vines which he planted? For we are to suppose, he could plant no trees or shrubs, but such as he found the roots of in the earth, and which no doubt had been there before in their highest perfection, and consequently grown up, and brought forth the same luscious fruit as before.

Besides, as he found roots of the vines, so he understood what they were, and what fruit they bore, or else it may be supposed also he would not have planted them, for he planted them for their fruit, as he did it in

the provision he was making for his subsistence, and for the subsistence of his family; and if he did not know what they were, he would not have set them, for he was not planting for diversion, but for profit.

Upon the whole, it seems plain to me, he knew what he did as well when he planted the vines, as when he pressed out the grapes; and also, when he drank the juice that he knew it was wine, was strong, and would make him drunk if he took enough of it; he knew that other men had been drunk with such liquor before the flood, and that he had reprehended them for it, and, therefore, it was not his ignorance, but the Devil took him at some advantage, when his appetite was eager or he thirsty, and the liquor cooling and pleasant, and, in short, as Eve said, the serpent beguiled her, and she did eat; so the Devil beguiled Noah, and he did drink; the temptation was too strong for Noah, not the wine; he knew well enough what he did; but, as the drunkards say to this day, it was so good he could not forbear it, and so he got drunk before he was aware; or, as our ordinary speech expresses it, he was overtaken with drink; and Mr. Pool, and other expositors are partly of the same mind.

No sooner was the poor old man conquered, and the wine had lightened his head, but it may be supposd he falls off from the chair or bench where he sat, and tumbling backward, his clothes, which in those hot countries were only loose open robes, like the vests which the Armenians wear to this day, flying abroad, or the Devil so assisting on purpose to expose him, he lay there in a naked, indecent posture not fit to be seen.

In this juncture, who should come by but young Canaan, say some; or, as others think, this young fellow first attacked him by way of kindness, and pretended affection; prompted his grandfather to drink, on pretence of the wine being good for him, and proper for the support of his old age, and subtilely set upon him, drinking also with him; and so (his head being

too strong for the old man's), drank him down, and then, devil-like, triumphed over him, boasted of his conquest, insulted the body as it were dead, and uncovered him on purpose to expose him; and leaving him in that indecent posture, went and made sport with it to his father Ham, who in that part wicked like himself, did the same to his brethren Japheth and Shem; but they, like modest and good men, far from carrying on the wicked insult on their parent, went and covered him, as the Scripture expresses it, and, as may be supposed, informed him how he had been abused, and by whom.

Why else should Noah, when he came to himself, show his resentment so much against Canaan his grandson, rather than against Ham his father; and whom, it is supposed in the story, the guilt chiefly lay upon? We see the curse is, as it were, laid wholly upon Canaan, the grandson, and not a word of the father is mentioned, Gen. ix. 25—27: "Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be," &c.

That Ham was guilty, that is certain, from the history of the fact; but I cannot but suppose his grandson was the occasion of it; and in this case the Devil seems to have made Canaan the instrument or tool to delude Noah, and draw him into drunkenness, as he made the serpent the tool to beguile Eve, and draw her into disobedience.

Possibly Canaan might do it without design at first, but might be brought in to ridicule and make a jest of the old patriarch afterwards, as is too frequent since in the practice of our days; but I rather believe he did it really with a wicked design, and on purpose to insult and expose his reverend old parent; and this seems more like too, because of the great bitterness with which Noah resented it, after he came to be informed of it.

But be that as it will, the Devil certainly made a great conquest here, and as to outward appearance no less than that which he gained before over Adam; nor

did the Devil's victory consist barely in his having drawn in the only righteous man of the antediluvian world, and so beginning or initiating the new young progeny with a crime, but here was the great oracle silenced at once; the preacher of righteousness, for such, no doubt, he would have been to the new world as he was to the old, I say, the preacher was turned out of his office, or his mouth stopped, which was worse; nay, it was a stopping of his mouth in the worst kind, far worse than stopping his breath; for had he died, the office had descended to his sons Shem and Japheth; but he was dead to the office of an instructor, though alive as to his being; for of what force could his preaching be, who had thus fallen himself into the most shameful and beastly excess?

Besides, some are of the opinion, though I hope without ground, that Noah was not only overtaken once in his drink, but that being fallen into that sin, it became habitual, and he continued in it a great while; and that it was this which is the meaning of his being uncovered in his tent, and that his son saw his nakedness; that is, he continually exposed himself for a long time, an hundred years, say they; and that his son Ham, and his grandson Canaan having drawn him into it, kept him in it, encouraged and prompted it; and all the while Satan still prompting them, joined their scoffs and contempt of him, with their wicked endeavours to promote the wickedness; and both with as much success as the Devil himself could wish for.

Then, as for his two sons modestly and decently covering their father, they tell us that represents Shem and Japheth, applying themselves in an humble and dutiful manner to their father to intreat and beseech him to consider his ancient glory, his own pious exhortations to the late drowned world, and to consider the offence which he gave by his evil courses to God, and the scandal to his whole family; and also that they are brought in effectually prevailing upon him; and that then Noah cursed the wickedness of Ham's de-

generate race, in testimony of his sincere repentance after the fact.

The story is not so very unlikely, as it is certain that it is not to be proved, and, therefore, we had better take it as we find it, viz., for one single act; but suppose it was so, it is still certain that Noah's preaching was sadly interrupted; the energy of his words flattened, and the force of his persuasions enervated and abated, by his shameful fall; that he was effectually silenced for an instructor for ever after; and this was as much as the Devil had occasion for; and, therefore, indeed we read little more of him, except that he lived three hundred and fifty years after the flood; nay, we do not so much as read that he had any more children, but the contrary; nor, indeed, could Noah have any more children, except by his old, and, perhaps, superannuated wife, whom it was very likely he had four or five hundred years, unless you will suppose he was allowed to marry some of his own progeny, daughters or grand-daughters, which we do not suppose was allowed, no, not to Adam himself.

This was certainly a master-piece of the Devil's policy, and a fatal instance of his unhappy diligence, namely, that the door of the ark was no sooner opened, and the face of the world hardly dry from the universal destruction of mankind, but he was at work among them; and that not only to form a general defection among the race, upon the foot of the original taint of nature, but like a bold Devil he strikes at the very root, and flies at the next general representative of mankind, attacks the head of the family, that in his miscarriage the rise and progress of a reformation of the new world should receive an early check, and should be at once prevented, I say, like a bold Devil, he strikes at the root; and, alas! poor unhappy Noah, he proved too weak for him; Satan prevailed in his very first attempt, and got the victory over him at once.

Noah thus overcome, and Satan's conquest carried on to the utmost of his own wishes, the Devil had little

more to do in the world for some ages, than to carry on an universal degeneracy among mankind, and to finish it by a like diligent application in deluding the generality of the race, and then as they came on gradually into life; this he found the less difficult, because of the first defection, which spread like a contagion upon the earth immediately after.

The first evidence we have of his success in this mischievous design was in building that great stupendous staircase, for such it seems it was intended, called Babel, which if the whole world had not been drunk, or otherwise infatuated, they would never have undertaken; even Satan himself could never have prevailed with them to undertake such a preposterous piece of work, for it had neither end or means, possibility or probability in it.

I must confess I am sometimes apt to vindicate our old ancestors in my thoughts, from the charge itself, as we generally understand it; namely, that they really designed to build a tower which should reach up to heaven, or that it should secure them in case of another flood; and father Casaubon is of my opinion, whether I am of his or not is a question by itself; his opinion is, that the confusion was nothing but a breach among the undertakers and directors of the work: and that the building was designed chiefly for a storehouse for provisions, in case of a second deluge: as to their notion of its reaching up to heaven, he takes the expression to be allegorical rather than literal, and only to mean that it should be exceeding high; perhaps, they might not be astronomers enough to measure the distance of space between the earth and heaven as we pretend to do now; but as Noah was then alive, and as we believe all his three sons were so too, they were able to have informed them how absurd it was to suppose either one or the other: viz., 1. That they could build up to heaven: or, 2. That they could build firm enough to resist, or high enough to overtop the waters, supposing such another flood should happen. I would

rather think it was only that they intended to build a most glorious and magnificent city, where they might all inhabit together; and that this tower was to be built for ornament. and also for strength, or as above, for a storehouse to lay up vast magazines of provisions, in case of extraordinary floods, or other events, the city being built in a great plain, namely, the plains of Shinar, near the river Euphrates.

But the story, as it is recorded, suits better with Satan's measures at that time; and as he was from the beginning prompting them to everything that was contrary to the happiness of man, so the more preposterous it was, and the more inconsistent with common sense, the more to his purpose; and it showed the more what a complete conquest he had gained over the reason as well as the religion of mankind at that time.

Again, it is evident in this case they were not only acting contrary to the nature of things, but contrary to the design and command of heaven; for God's command was, that they should replenish the earth, that is, that they should spread their habitations over it, and people the whole globe; whereas, they were pitching in one place, as if they were not to multiply sufficient to take up any more.

But what cared the Devil for that? or, to put it a little handsomer, that was what Satan aimed at; for it was enough to him to bring mankind to act just contrary to what heaven had directed or commanded them in anything, and, if possible, in everything.

But God himself put a stop to this foolish piece of work, and it was time, indeed, to do so, for a madder thing the Devil himself never proposed to them; I say, God himself put a stop to this new undertaking, and disappointed the Devil; and how was it done? not in judgment and anger, as, perhaps, the Devil expected and hoped for, but as pitying the simplicity of that dreaming creature man, he confused their speech, or as some say, divided and confused their counsels, so that they could not agree with one another, which

would be the same thing as not to understand one another; or he put a new shibboleth upon their tongues, thereby separating them into tribes or families; for by this every family found themselves under the necessity of keeping together, and this naturally increased that different jargon of language; for at first it might be no more.

What a confusion this was to them we all know, by their being obliged to leave off their building, and immediately separating from one another; but what a surprise it was to the old Serpent, that remains to be considered of, for, indeed, it belongs to his history.

Satan had never met with any disappointment in all his wicked attempts till now; for first, he succeeded even to triumph over Eve; he did the like upon Cain, and, in short, upon the whole world, one man (Noah) excepted; when he blended the sons of God. and the daughters of hell, for so the word is understood, together, in promiscuous voluptuous living as generation.

As to the deluge, authors are not agreed whether it was a disappointment to the Devil or not; it might be, indeed, a surprise to him; for though Noah had preached of it for a hundred years together, yet as he (Satan) daily prompted the people not to heed or believe what the old fellow Noah said to them, and to ridicule his whimsical building, a monstrous tub to swim or float in, when the deluge should come; so I am of the opinion he did not believe it himself, and I am positive he could not foresee it, by any insight into futurity that he was master of.

It is true, the astronomers tell us, there was a very terrible comet seen in the air, that it appeared for 180 days before the flood continually, and that as it approached nearer and nearer every day all the while, so that at last it burst and fell down in a continual spout or stream of water, being of watery substance, and the quantity so great, that it was forty days a falling; so that this comet, not only foretold the deluge or drown-

ing of the earth, but actually performed it, and drowned it from itself.

But to leave this tale to them that told it, let us consider the Devil surprised, and a little amazed, at the absorption or inundation, or whatever we are to call it, of the earth in the deluge; not, I say, that he was much concerned at it, perhaps, just the contrary; and if God would drown it again, and as often as he thought fit, I do not see, by anything I meet with in Satan's history, or in the nature of him, that he would be at all disturbed at it; all that I can see in it, that could give Satan any concern would be, that all his favourites were gone, and he had his work to do over again, to lay a foundation for a new conquest in the generation that was to come; but, in this his prospect was fair enough, for why should he be discouraged, when he had now eight people to work upon, who met with such success when he had but two! And why should he question breaking in now, where nature was already vitiated and corrupted, when he had before conquered the same nature, when in its primitive rectitude and purity, just come out of the hands of its Maker, and fortified with the awe of his high and solemn command just given them, and the threatening of death also annexed to it, if broken?

But I go back to the affair of Babel:—This confusion of language, or of counsels, take it which way you will, is the first disappointment that I find the Devil met with, in all his attempts and practices upon mankind, or upon the new creature as I mentioned above; for now he foresaw what would follow—namely, that the people would separate and spread themselves over the whole surface of the earth, and a thousand new scenes of action would appear, in which he, therefore, prepares himself to behave as he should see occasion.

How the Devil learned to speak all the languages that were now to be used, and how many languages there were, the several ancient writers of the Devil's story have not yet determined. Some tell us they

were divided only into fifteen, some into seventy-two, others into one hundred and eighty, and others again into several thousands.

It also remains a doubt with me, and I suppose, will be with others also, whether Satan had yet found out a method to converse with mankind, without the help of language and words, or not; seeing man has no other method of conversing, no, not with himself. This I have not time to enter upon here; however, this seems plain to me—namely, that the Devil soon learned to make mankind understand him, whatever language he spoke, and no doubt but he found ways and means to understand them, whatever language they spoke.

After the confusion of languages, the people necessarily sorted themselves into families and tribes, every family understanding their own peculiar speech, and that only, and these families multiplying, grew into nations; and those nations wanting room, and seeking out habitations, wandering some this way, some that, till they found out countries respectively proper for their settling; and there they became kingdoms, spreading and possessing still more and more land as their people increased, till at last the whole earth was scarce big enough for them. This presented Satan with an opportunity to break in upon their morals at another door—namely, their pride; for men being naturally proud and envious, nations and tribes began to jostle with one another for room. Either one nation enjoyed better accommodation, or had a better soil, or a more favourable climate than another; and these, being numerous and strong, thrust the other out, and encroached upon their land; the other liking their situation, prepared for their defence—and so began oppression, invasion, war, battle, and blood; Satan all the while beating the drums, and his attendants clapping their hands as men do when they set dogs upon one another.

The bringing mankind thus to war and confusion, as it was the first game the Devil played after the con-

founding the languages and division at Babel, so it was a conquest upon mankind purely devilish, born from hell, and so exactly tinctured with Satan's original sin, ambition, that it really transformed men into mere devils. For when is man transformed into the very image of Satan himself, when he is turned into a mere devil, if it is not when he is fighting with his fellow-creatures and dipping his hands in the blood of his own kind? Let his picture be considered; the fire of hell flames or sparkles in his eyes—a voracious grin sits upon his countenance—rage and fury distort the muscles of his face, his passions agitate his whole body—and he is metamorphosed from a beauteous angelic creature, into a fury, a satyr, a terrible and frightful monster, nay, into a devil: for Satan himself is described by the same word, which on his very account is changed into a substantive, and the devils are called furies.

The sowing of the seeds of strife in the world, and bringing nations to fight and make war upon one another, would take up a great part of the Devil's history, and abundance of extraordinary things would occur in relating the particulars; for there have been very great conflagrations kindled in the world by the artifice of hell under this head—namely, of making war; in which it has been the Devil's master-piece, and he has, indeed, shown himself a workman in it, that he has wheedled mankind into strange unnatural notions of things, in order to propagate and support the fighting principles in the world; such as laws of war, fair fighting, behaving like men of honour, fighting to the last drop, and the like; by which killing and murdering is understood to be justifiable. Virtue, and true greatness of spirit, is rated now by the rules which God never appointed, and the standard of honour is quite different from that of reason and of nature. Bravery is denominated not from a fearless, undaunted spirit in the just defence of life and liberty, but from a daring defiance of God and man, fighting, killing, and treading under foot his

fellow-creatures, at the ordinary command of the officer, whether it be right or wrong, and whether it be in a just defence of life, and our country's life, that is liberty; or whether it be for the support of injury and oppression.

A prudent avoiding causeless quarrel, is called cowardice, and to take an affront, baseness and meanness of spirit; to refuse fighting, and putting life at a cast on the point of a sword, a practice forbid by the law of God and of all good government, is yet called cowardice; and a man is bound to die duelling, or live and be laughed at.

This trumping up these imaginary things, called bravery and gallantry, naming them virtue and honour, is all from the Devil's new management, and his subtle influencing the minds of men to fly in the face of God and nature, and to act against their senses; nor, but for his artifice in the management, could it be possible that such inconsistences could go down with mankind, or they could pass such absurd things among them for reasoning; for example, A. is found in bed with B's wife; B. is the person injured, and, therefore, offended —and coming into the chamber with his sword in his hand, A. exclaims loudly, "Why, sir, you won't murder me, will you? As you are a man of honour, let me rise and take my sword."

A very good story indeed! fit for nobody but the Devil to put into any man's head; but so it is, B. being put in mind, forsooth, that he is a man of honour, starts back, and must act the honourable part; so he lets A. get up, put on his clothes, and take his sword: then they fight, and B. is killed for his honour; whereas, had the laws of God, of nature, and of reason, taken place, the adulterer and adultress should have been taken prisoners, and carried before the judge; and being taken in the fact, should have been sentenced, he to the block and she to the stake; and the innocent abused husband had no reason to have run any risk of his life for being made a cuckold,

But thus has Satan abused the reason of man, and if a man does me the greatest injury in the world, I must do myself justice upon him by venturing my life upon an uneven lay with him, and must fight him upon an unequal hazard, in which the injured person is as often killed as the person offering the injury. Suppose now it be in the same case as above, a man abuses my wife, and then to give me satisfaction, tells me he will fight me, which the French call *doing me reason;* "No, sir, (says I) let me lie with your wife too, and then, if you desire it, I may fight you; then I am upon even terms with you." But this, indeed, is the reasoning which the Devil has brought mankind to at this day. But to go back to the subject—namely, the Devil bringing the nations to fall out, and to quarrel for room in the world, and so to fight, in order to dispossess one another of their settlements. This began at a time when certainly there were places enough in the world for every one to choose in; and, therefore, the Devil, not the want of elbow-room, must be the occasion of it; and it is carried on ever since apparently from the same interest, and by the same original.

But we shall meet with this part again very often in the Devil's story, and as we bring him farther on in the management of mankind. I, therefore, lay it by for the present, and come to the next steps the Devil took with mankind after the confusion of languages; and this was in the affair of worship. It does not appear yet that even the Devil was so bold as either,—

1. To set himself up to be worshipped as a God; or which was still worse—
2. To persuade man to believe there was no God at all to worship.

Both these are introduced since the deluge; one, indeed, by the Devil, who soon found means to set himself up for a God in many parts of the world, and holds it to this day; but the last is brought in by the invention of

men, in which it must be confessed man has outsinned the Devil; for to do Satan justice he never thought it could ever pass upon mankind, or that anything so gross would go down with them; so that, in short, these modern casuists, in the reach of our days, have, I say, outsinned the Devil.

As then both these are modern inventions, Satan went on gradually; and, beginning to work upon human nature by stratagem, not by force, it would have been too gross to have set himself up as an object of worship at first; it was to be done step by step. For example,—

1. It was sufficient to bring mankind to a neglect of God to worship him by halves, and give little or no regard to his laws, and so grow loose and immoral, in direct contradiction to his commands. This would not go down with them at first; so the Devil went on gradually.
2. From a negligence in worshipping the true God he by degrees introduced the worship of false gods—and to introduce this he began with the sun, moon, and stars, called in the holy text the host of heaven. These had greater majesty upon them, and seemed fitter to command the homage of mankind; so it was not the hardest thing in the world to bring men, when they had once forgotten the true God, to embrace the worship of such gods as those.
3. Having thus debauched their principles in worship, and led them from the true and only object of worship to a false, it was the easier to carry them on, so in a few gradations more he brought them to downright idolatry; and even in that idolatry he proceeded gradually too; for he began with awful names, such as were venerable in the thoughts of men, as Baal or Bel, which in Chaldaic and Hebrew, signifies Lord or Sovereign, or mighty and magnificent; and this was, therefore, a name ascribed at first to the true God; but afterwards they descended to make images and figures to re-

present him, and then they were called by the same name, as Baal, Baalim, and afterwards Bel; from which, by a hellish degeneracy, Satan brought mankind to adore every block of their own hewing, and worship stocks, stones, monsters, hobgoblins, and every sordid, frightful thing, and at last the Devil himself.

What notions some people may entertain of the forwardness of the first ages of the world to run into idolatry, I do not inquire here. I know they tell us strange things, of its being the product of mere nature, one remove from its primitive state; but I, who pretend to have so critically inqured into Satan's history, can assure you, and that from very good authority, that the Devil did not find it so easy a task to obliterate the knowledge of the true God in the minds and consciences of men, as those people suggest.

It is true he carried things a great length under the patriarchal government of the first ages, but still he was 1600 years bringing it to pass; and though we have reason to believe the old world, before the flood, was arrived at a very great height of wickedness, and Ovid very nobly describes it by the war of the Titans against Jupiter, yet we do not read that ever Satan was come such a length as to bring them to idolatry. Indeed, we do read of wars carried on against them; whether it was one nation against another, or only personal we cannot tell! but the world seemed to be swallowed up in a life of wickedness, that is to say, of luxury and lewdness, rapine and violence; and there were giants among them and men of renown, that is to say, men famed for their mighty valour, great actions of war, we may suppose, and their strength, who personally opposed others. We read of no inconsiderable wars indeed; but it is not to be doubted but there were such wars, or else it is to be understood that they lived (in common) a life somewhat like the brutes, the strong devouring the weak; for the text says, "the whole earth

was filled with violence; hunting and tearing one another in pieces, either for dominion or for wealth, either for ambition or for avarice, we know not well which.

Thus far the old antediluvian world went; and very wicked they were there is no doubt of that; but we have no reason to believe they were idolators. The Devil had not brought them that length yet; perhaps, it would soon have followed, but the deluge intervened.

After the deluge, as I have said, he had all his work to do over again, and he went on by the same steps. First, he brought them to violence and war—then to oppression and tyranny—then to neglect of true worship—then to false worship—and then idolatry, by the mere natural consequence of the things, Who were the first nation or people that fell from the worship of the true God, is somewhat hard to determine; the Devil, who certainly of all God's creatures is best able to inform us, having left us nothing upon record on that subject. But we have reason to believe it was thus introduced;—Nimrod was the grandson of Ham, Noah's second son, the same who was cursed by his father for exposing him in his drunkenness. This Nimrod was the first whom, it seems, Satan picked out for a hero. Here he inspired him with ambitious thoughts, dreams of empire, and having the government of all the rest, that is to say universal monarchy; the very same bait with which he has played upon the frailty of princes, and ensnared the greatest of them ever since, even from his Most August Imperial Majesty King Nimrod the first, to his Imperial Majesty Napoleon Bonaparte, and many a mighty monarch between.

When these mighty monarchs and men of fame went off the stage, the world had their memories in esteem many ages after; and as their great actions were no otherwise recorded than by moral tradition and the tongues and memories of fallible men, time, and the custom of magnifying the past actions of kings, men soon fabled up their histories, Satan assisting, into

miracle and wonder. Hence their names were had in veneration more and more, statues and bustoes, representing their persons and great actions, were set up in public places, till from heroes and champions, they made gods of them; and thus (Satan prompting) the world was quickly filled with idols.

This Nimrod is he, who, according to the received opinion, though I do not find Satan's history exactly concurring with it, was first called Belus, then Baal, and worshipped in most of the eastern countries under those names; sometimes with additions of surnames, according to the several countries or people, or towns where he was particularly set up, as Baal-Peor, Baal-Zephon, Baal-Phegor, and in other places plain Baal; as Jupiter, in after times had the like additions, as Jupiter-Ammon, Jupiter-Capitolinus, Jupiter-Pistor, Jupiter-Feretrius, and about ten or twelve Jupiters more.

I must acknowledge, that I think it was a master-piece of hell, to bring the world to idolatry as soon after they had had such an eminent example of the infinite power of the true God, as was seen in the deluge, particularly in the escape of Noah in the ark; to bring them (even before Noah or his sons were dead) to forget whose hand it was, and give the homage of the world to a name, and that a name of a mortal man, dead and rotten, who was famous for nothing when he was alive but blood and war; I say, to bring the world to set up this nothing, this mere name, nay, the very image and picture of him for a god, it was first a mark of most prodigious stupidity in the whole race of men, a monstrous degeneracy from nature, and even from common sense; and in the next place, it was a token of an inexpressible craft and subtilty in the Devil, who had now gotten the people into so full and complete a management, that, in short, he could have brought them, by the same rule, to have worshipped anything; and in a little while more did bring many of them to worship himself, plain Devil as he was, and knowing him to be such.

As to the antiquity of this horrible defection of mankind, though we do not find the beginning of it particularly recorded, yet we are certain it was not long after the confusion of Babel; for Nimrod, as it is said, was no more than Noah's great grandson, and Noah himself, I suppose might be alive some years after Nimrod was born; and as Nimrod was not long dead, before they forgot he was a tyrant and a murderer, and made a Baal, that is, a lord or idol of him; I say, he was not long dead, for Nimrod was born in the year of the world 1847, and built Babylon the year 1879; and we find Terah, the father of Abraham, who lived from the year 1879, was an idolator, as was, doubtless, Bethuel, who was Terah's grandson; for we find Laban, who was Bethuel's son, was so, and all this was during the life of the postdiluvian family; for Terah was born within 193 years after the flood, and 153 years before Noah was dead; and even Abraham himself was 58 years old before Noah died; and yet idolatry had been then, in all probability, above 100 years practised in the world,

N. B. It is worthy of remark here, what a terrible advantage the Devil gained by debauching poor Noah, and drawing him into the sin of drunkenness; for by this, as I said, he silenced and stopped the mouth of the great preacher of righteousness, that father and patriarch of the whole world; who not being able, for the shame of his own foul miscarriage, to pretend to instruct or reprove the world any more, the Devil took hold of them immediately; and, for want of a prophet to warn and admonish, run that little religion which there might be left in Shem and Japheth, quite out of the world, and deluged them all in *idolatry*.

How long the whole world may be said to be thus overwhelmed in ignorance and idolatry, we may make some tolerable guess at by the history of Abraham; for it was not till God called him from his father's house that

any such thing as a church was established in the world; nor even then, except in his own family and successors, for almost 400 years after that call; and till God brought the Israelites back out of Egypt, the whole world may be said to be involved in idolatry and devil-worship.

So absolute a conquest had the Devil made over mankind immdiately after the flood, and all taking its rise and beginning at the fatal defeat of Noah, who, had he lived untainted and invulnerable, as he had done for 600 years before, would have gone a great way to have stemmed the torrent of wickedness which broke in upon mankind; and, therefore, the Devil, I say, was very cunning, and very much in the right of it, take him as a mere devil, to attack Noah personally, and give him a blow so soon.

It is true, the Devil dld not immediately rase out the notion of religion, and of a God, from the minds of men; nor could he easily suppress the principle of worship and homage to be paid to a Sovereign Being, the author of nature, and guide of the world, The Devil saw this clearly in the first ages of the new world; and, therefore, as I have said, he proceeded politically, and by degrees. That it was so, is evident from the story of Job and his three friends; who, if we may take it for a history, not a fable, and may judge of the time of it by the length of Job's life, and by the family of Eliphaz the Temanite, who, it is manifest, was at least grandson or great grandson to Esau, Isaac's eldest son; and by the language of Abimeleck, King of Gerar, to Abraham, and of Laban to Jacob, both the latter being at the same time idolators; I say, if we may judge of it by all these, there were still very sound notions of religion in the minds of men; nor could Satan, with all his cunning and policy, deface those ideas, and root them out of the minds of the people.

And this put him upon taking new measures to keep up his interest, and preserve the hold he got upon mankind; and this method was, like himself subtle and politic to the last degree, as his whole history makes

appear; for, seeing he found they could not but believe the being of a God, and that they would needs worship something, it is evident he had no game left him to play but this; namely, to set up wrong notions of worship, and bring them to a false worship instead of a true, supposing the object worshipped be still the same.

To finish this stratagem, he first insinuates, that the true God was a terrible, a dreadful, unapproachable being; that to see him was so frightful, that it would be present death; that to worship him immediately, was a presumption which would provoke his wrath; and that, as he was a consuming fire in himself, so he would burn up those in his anger that dared to offer up any sacrifice to him, but by the interposition of some medium, which might receive adorations in his name.

Hence it occurred presently that subordinate gods were to be found out and set up, to whom the people might pay the homage due to the supreme God, and whom they might worship in his name. This I take from the most ancient account of idolatry in the world; nor, indeed, could the Devil himself find out any other reason why men should canonise, or rather deify their princes and men of fame, and worship them after they were dead, as if they could save them from death and calamity, who were not able to save themselves when they were alive; much less could Satan bring men to swallow so gross, so absurd a thing, as the bowing the knee to a stock or stone, a calf, an ox, a lion, nay, the image or figure of a calf, such as the Israelites made at mount Sinai, and say, "These be thy gods, O Israel! who brought thee out of the land of Egypt,

Having thus, I say, brought them to satisfy themselves that they worshipped the true God, and no other, under the figures and appearance which they made to represent him, it was easy after that to worship anything for the true God; and thus, in a few ages, they worshipped nothing but idols, even throughout the

whole world, nay, not in the most parts of the world to this day. He holds still all the eastern parts of Asia, the southern parts of Africa, and the northern parts of Europe; and in them the vast countries of China and Tartary, Persia and India, Guinea, Ethiopia, Zanquebar, Congo, Angolo, Monomotapa, &c. In which, except Ethiopia, we find no vestiges of any other worship but that of idols, monsters, and even the Devil himself, till after the coming of our Saviour; and even then, if it be true that the Gospel was preached in the Indies and China by St. Thomas, and in other remote countries by other of the Apostles, we see that, whatever ground Satan lost, he seems to have recovered it again; and all Asia and Africa are at present overrun with Paganism or Mahometanism, which I think of the two is rather the worst; besides all America, a part of the world, as some say, equal in bigness to all the other, in which the Devil's kingdom was never interrupted from its first being inhabited, whenever it was, to the first discovery of it by the European nations in the tenth century.

In a word, the Devil got what we may call an entire victory over mankind, and drove the worship of the true God, in a manner, quite out of the world, forcing, as it were, his Maker, in a new kind of creation, the old one proving thus ineffectual, to recover a certain number by force and mere omnipotence, to return to their duty, serve him, and worship him. But of that hereafter.

CHAPTER X.

Of God's calling a church out of the midst of a degenerate world; and of Satan's new measures upon that incident. How he attacked them immediately; and his success in these attacks.

Satan having, as I have said in the preceding chapter, made, as it were, a full conquest of mankind, debauched them all to idolatry, and brought them at last to worship the true God by the wretched medium of corrupt and idolatrous representations, God seemed to have no true servants or worshippers left in the world; but if I may be allowed to speak so, was obliged, in order to restore the world to their senses again, to call a select number out from among the rest, who he himself undertook should own his Godhead, or supreme authority, and worship him as he required to be worshipped; this, I say, God was obliged to do, because it is evident it has not been done so much by the choice and counsel of men; for Satan would have overruled that part, as by the power and energy of some irresistible and invincible operation; and this our divines give high names to. But be it what they will, it is the second defeat or disappointment that the Devil has met with in his progress in the world; the first I have spoken of already.

It is true, Satan very well understood what was threatened to him in the original promise to the woman immediately after the fall, namely—"Thou shalt bruise his head," &c., but he did not expect it so suddenly, but thought himself sure of mankind, till the fulness of time, when the Messiah should come; and, therefore, it was a great surprise to him, to see that Abraham, being called, was so immediately received and established, though he did not so immediately follow the voice that directed him, yet in him, in his loins, was all God's church at that time contained.

In the calling Abraham, it is easy to see that there was no other way for God to form a church, that is to say, to single out a people to himself, as the world was then stated, but by immediate revelation, and a voice from heaven; all mankind were gone over to the enemy; overwhelmed in idolatry; in a word, were engaged to the Devil; God Almighty, or, as the Scripture distinguisheth him, the Lord, the true God, was out of the question; mankind knew little or nothing of him, much less did they know anything of his worship or that there was such a being in the world.

Well might it be said, the Lord appeared to Abraham, Gen. xii. 7, for if God had not appeared himself, he must have sent a messenger from heaven, and, perhaps, it was so too, for he had not one true servant or worshipper that he knew of then on earth to send on that errand, no prophet, no preacher of righteousness; Noah was dead, and had been so above seventeen years; and if he had not, his preaching, as I observed, after his great miscarriage, had but little effect. We are, indeed, told, that Noah left behind him certain rules and orders for the true worship of God, which were called the precepts of Noah, and remained in the world for a long time; though how written, when neither any letters, much less writing, were known in the world, is a difficulty which remains to be solved; and this makes me look upon those laws called the precepts of Noah to be a modern invention, as I do also the *Alphabetum Noachi*, which Bochart pretends to give an account of.

But to leave that fiction and come back to Abraham, God called him, whether at first by voice without any vision, whether in a dream, or night vision, which was very significant in those days, or whether by some awful appearance, we know not; the second time it is indeed said expressly, God appeared to him; be that which way it will, God himself called him, showed him the land of Canaan, gave him the promise of it for his posterity, and withal gave him such a faith, that the Devil soon found there was no room for him to meddle

with Abraham. It is certain we do not read, that the Devil ever so much as attempted Abraham at all; some will suggest that the command to Abraham to go and offer up his son Isaac, was a temptation of the Devil, if possible, to defeat the glorious works of God's calling a holy seed into the world; for first, if Abraham had disobeyed that call, the new favourite had been overcome, and made a rebel of; or, secondly, if he had obeyed, then the promised seed had been cut off, and Abraham defeated; but as the text is express, that God himself proposed it to Abraham, I shall not start the suggestions of the critics, in bar of the sacred oracle.

Be it one way or other, Abraham showed a hero-like faith and courage; and, if the Devil had been the author of it, he had seen himself disappointed in both his views; first, by Abraham's ready and bold compliance, as believing it to be God's command; and secondly, by the divine countermand of the execution, just as the fatal knife was lifted up.

But if the Devil left Abraham, and made no attack upon him, seeing him invulnerable, he made himself amends upon the other branch of his family, his poor nephew Lot; who, notwithstanding he was so immediately under the particular care of heaven, as that angel who was sent to destroy Sodom, could do nothing till he was out of it; and who, though after he had left Zoar, and was retired into a cave to dwell, yet the subtil Devil found him out, deluded his two daughters, took an advantage of the fright they had been in about Sodom and Gomorrah, made them believe the whole world was burnt too, as well as those cities, and that in short, they could never have any husbands, &c., and so in their abundant concern to re-people the world, and that the race of mankind might not be destroyed, they go and lie with their own father; the Devil telling them, doubtless, how to do it, by intoxicating his head with wine; in all which story, whether they were not as drunk as their father, seems to be a question; or else they could not have supposed all the men in the earth

were consumed, when they knew that the little city Zoar had been preserved for their sakes.

This now was the third conquest Satan obtained by the gust of human appetite; that is to say, once by eating, and twice by drinking, or drunkenness; and still the last was the worst, and most shameful; for Lot, however his daughters managed him, could not pretend he did not understand what the strength of wine was; and one would have thought, after so terrible a judgment as that of Sodom was, which was, as we may say, executed before his face, his thoughts should have been too solemnly engaged in praising God for sparing his life, to be made drunk, and that two nights together.

But the Devil played his game sure, he set his two daughters to work, and as the Devil's instruments seldom fail, so he secured his by that hellish stratagem of deluding the daughters to think that all the world was consumed but they two and their father. To be sure the old man could not suspect that his daughter's design was so wicked as indeed it was, or that they intended to debauch him with wine, and make him drink till he knew not what he did.

Now the Devil having carried his game here, gained a great point; for as there were but two religious families in the world before, from hence a twofold generation might be supposed to rise, religious and righteous like their parents, viz., that of Abraham and this of Lot; this crime ruined the hopes of one of them: it could no more be said that just Lot was in being, who vexed his righteous soul from day to day with the wicked behaviour of the people of Sodom—righteous Lot was degenerated into drunken incestuous Lot—Lot fallen from what he was, to be a wicked and unrighteous man; no pattern of virtue, no reprover of the age, but a poor, fallen, degenerate patriarch, who could now no more reprove or exhort, but look down and be ashamed, and nothing to do but repent; and see the poor mean excuses of all the three:—

Eve says.—The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat.

Noah says,—My grandson beguiled me, or the wine beguiled me, and I did drink.

Lot says,—My daughters beguiled me, and I also did drink.

It is observable, that as I said above, Noah was silenced, and his preaching at an end, after that one action; so the like may be said of Lot; and, in short, we never hear one word more of either of them after it, as for mankind, but were useless to them; and as to themselves we never read of any of their repentance, nor have we much reason to believe they did repent.

From this attack of the Devil upon Lot, we hear no more of the Devil being so busily employed as he had been in the world; he had, indeed, but little to do, for all the rest of the world was his own, lulled asleep under the witchcraft of idolatry, and are so still.

But it could not be long that the Devil lay idle, as soon as God called himself a people, the Devil could not be at rest till he attacked them;—

> Wherever God sets up a house of prayer,
> The Devil always builds a chapel there.

Abraham, indeed, went off the stage free, and so did Isaac too—they were a kind of first-rate saints; we do not so much as read of any failing they had, or of anything the Devil had ever the face to offer them, no, or with Jacob either, if you will excuse him for beguiling his brother Esau of both his birth-right and his blessing; but he was busy enough with all his children; for example,—

He sent Judah to his sheep-shearing, and placed a whore (Tamar) in his way, in the posture of temptation—so made him commit incest and whoredom both together.

He sent incestuous Reuben to lie with his father's concubine Bilhah.

He sent Dinah to the ball, to dance with the Shechemite ladies, and play the whore with her master.

He enraged Simeon and Levi at the supposed injury, and then prompted them to revenge, for which their father heartily cursed them.

He sent them altogether to fall upon poor Joseph, first to murder him intentionally, and then actually sell him to the Midianites.

He made them show the party-coloured coat, and tell a lie to their father, to make the poor old man believe Joseph was killed by a lion, &c.

He sent Potiphar's wife to attack Joseph's chastity, and filled her with rage at the disappointment.

He taught Joseph to swear by the life of Pharaoh.

In a word, he debauched the whole race, except Benjamin, and never man had such a set of sons, so wicked, and so notorious, after so good an introduction into the world as they all of them had, to be sure; for Jacob, no doubt, gave them as good instructions as the circumstances of his wandering condition would allow him to do.

We must now consider the Devil and his affairs in a quite different situation; when the world first appeared peopled by the creating power of God, he had only Adam and Eve to take care of, and I think he plied his time with them to purpose enough. After the deluge he had Noah only to pitch upon, and he quickly conquered him by the instigation of his grandson.

At the building of Babel, he guided them by their acting all in a body as one man; so that, in short, he managed them with ease, taking them as a body politic, and we find they came into his snare as one man; but now the children of Israel multiplying in the land of their bondage, and God seeming to show a particular concern for them, the Devil was obliged to take new measures, stand at a distance, and look on for some time.

The Egyptians were plagued even without his help; for, though the cunning artist, as I said, stood and looked on, yet he durst not meddle, nor could he make

a few lice, the least and meanest of the armies of insects raised to afflict the Egyptians.

However, when he perceived that God resolved to bring the Israelites out, he prepared to attend them, to watch them, and be at hand upon all the wicked occasions that might offer, as if he had been fully satisfied such occasions would offer, and that he should not fail to have an opportunity to draw them into some snare or other, and, therefore, it was his business not to be out of the way, but to be ready (as we say) to make his market of them in the best manner he could; how many ways he attempted them, nay, how many ways he conquered them in their journey, we shall see presently.

First, he put them in a fright at Baal-Zephon, where he thought he had drawn them into a noose, and where he sent Pharaoh and his army to block them up between the mountains of Phihahiroth and the Red Sea; but there, indeed, Satan was outwitted by Moses, so far as it is feared to be a human action, for he little thought of their going dry footed through the sea, but depended upon having them all cut in pieces the next morning by the Egyptians; an eminent proof by the way, that the Devil has no knowledge of events, or any insight of futurity, nay, that he has not so much as a second sight, or knows to-day what his Maker intends to do to-morrow; for had Satan known that God intended to ford them over the sea, if he had not been able to have prevented the miracle, he would certainly have prevented the escape, by sending out Pharaoh and his army time enough to have taken the strand before them, and so have driven them to the necessity of travelling on foot round the north point of that sea, by the wilderness of Etan, where he would have pursued and harassed them with his cavalry, and in all probability have destroyed them; but the blind, short-sighted Devil, perfectly in the dark, and unacquainted with futurity, knew nothing of the matter, was as much deceived as Pharaoh himself, stood still, flattering himself with the hopes of his booty, and the

revenge he should take upon them the next morning, till he saw the frightened waves in an uproar, and to his utter astonishment and confusion, saw the passage laid open, and Moses leading his vast army in full march, over the dry space; nay, even then it is very probable Satan did not know, that if the Egyptians followed them the sea would return upon and overwhelm them; for I can hardly think so hard of the Devil himself, that if he had, he would have suffered, much less prompted, Pharaoh to follow the chase at such an expense, so that either he must be an ignorant unforeseeing Devil, or a very ungrateful, false Devil to his friends the Egyptians.

I am inclined also to the more charitable opinion of Satan too, because the escapes of the Israelites was really a triumph over himself, for the war was certainly his, or at least he was auxiliary to Pharaoh—it was a victory over hell and Egypt together; and he would never have suffered the disgrace, if he had known it beforehand, that is to say, though he could not have prevented the escape of Israel, or the dividing the water, yet he might have warned the Egyptians, and cautioned them not to venture in after them.

But we shall see a great many weak steps taken by the Devil in the affair of this very people, and their forty years wandering in the wilderness; and though he was in some things successful and wheedled them into many foolish and miserable murmurings and wranglings against God, and mutinies against poor Moses, yet the Devil was oftentimes baulked and disappointed, and it is for this reason that I choose to finish the first part of his history with the particular relation of his behaviour among the Jews, because also we do not find any extraordinary things happening anywhere else in the world for above one thousand five hundred years, in variety no revolutions; all the rest of mankind lay still under his yoke, quietly submitted to his government, did just as he bade them, worshipped every idol he set up, and, in a word, he

had no difficulty with anybody but the Jews, and for this reason, I say, this part of his story will be the more useful and instructing.

To return therefore to Moses, and his dividing the Red Sea, that the people went over or through it, that we have the sacred history for, but how the Devil behaved, that you must not come to me for, for I know not where you will find a true account of it, at least not in print.

1.—It was in the night they marched through; whether the Devil saw it in the dark or not, that is not my business.

But when he had day-light for it, and viewed the next day's work, I make no question but that all hell felt the surprise, the prey being thus snatched out of their hands unexpectedly. It is true the Egyptian host was sent to him in their room, but that was not what he aimed at, for he was sure enough of them in his own way, if it was not just at that time, yet he knew what and who they were; but as he had devoured the whole Israelitish host in his imagination, to the tune of at least one million and a half of souls, men, women, and children; it was, no doubt, a great disappointment to the Devil to miss his prey, and to see them all triumphing on the other side in safety.

It is true Satan's annals do not mention this defeat, for historians are generally backward to register their own misfortunes, but as we have an account of the fact from other hands so as we cannot question the truth of it; the nature of the thing will tell us it was a disappointment to the Devil, and a very great one too.

I cannot but observe, that I think this part of the Devil's history very entertaining, because of the great variety of incidents which appear in every part of it; sometimes he is like a hunted fox, curvetting and counter-running to avoid his being pursued and found out, while at the same time he is carrying on his secret designs to draw the people he pretends to manage,

into some snare or other, to their hurt: at another time, though the comparison is a little too low for his dignity, like a monkey that has done mischief, and which, making his own escape, sits and chatters at a distance, as if he had triumphed in what he had done; so Satan, when he had drawn them to worship a calf, to offer strange fire, to set up a schism and the like, and so to bring the divine vengeance upon themselves; leaving them in their distress, kept at a distance, as if he looked on with satisfaction to see them burnt, swallowed up, swept away, and the like, as the several stories relate.

His indefatigable vigilance is, on the other hand, an usual caveat, as well as an improving view to us; no sooner is he routed and exposed, defeated and disappointed in one enterprise, but he begins another, and like a cunning gladiator warily defends himself—boldly attacks his enemy at the same time. Thus we see, up and down, conquering and conquered, through this whole part of his story, till at last, he receives a total defeat, of which you shall hear in its place; in the meantime, let us take up his story again in the Red Sea, where he received a great blow, instead of which he expected a complete victory; for, doubtless the Devil, and the King of Egypt too, thought of nothing but conquest at Phihahiroth.

However, though the triumph of the Israelites over the Egyptians must needs have been a great mortification to the Devil, and exasperated him very much, yet the consequence was only this; viz., that Satan, like an enemy who is baulked and defeated, but not overcome, redoubles his rage, and reinforces his army, and what the Egyptians could not do for him, he resolves to do for himself; in order then to take his opportunity for what mischief might offer, being defeated and provoked, I say, at the slur that was put upon him, he resolves to follow them into the wilderness, and many a vile prank he played them there; at first he straightens them for water, and makes them murmur against God, and

against Moses, within a very few days, nay, hours of their greatest deliverance of all.

Nor was this all, but in less than one year more we find them (at his instigation too) setting up a golden calf, and making all the people dance about it at Mount Sinai; even when God himself had but just before appeared to them in the terrors of a burning fire upon the top of the mountains; and what was the pretence? Truly nothing, but that they had lost Moses, who used to be their guide, and he had hid himself in the mount, and had not been seen for forty days, so that they could not tell what was become of him. This put them all into confusion; a poor pretence indeed, to turn them all back to idolatry! But the watchful Devil took the hint, pushed the advantage, and insinuated that they should never see Moses again; that he was certainly devoured by venturing too near the flames of fire in the mount, and presuming upon the liberty he had taken before; in a word, that God had destroyed Moses, or he was starved to death for want of food, having been forty days and forty nights absent.

All these were, it is true, in themselves most foolish suggestions considering Moses was admitted to the vision of God, and that God had been pleased to appear to him in the most intimate manner, that, as they might depend God would not destroy his faithful servant, so they might have concluded he was able to support his being without food as long as he thought fit; but to a people so easy to believe anything, what could be too gross for the Devil to persuade them to?

A people who could dance round a calf and call it their God, might do anything; that could say to one another, that this was the great Jehovah that brought them out of the land of Egypt; and that within so few days after God's miraculous appearance to them and for them; I say, such a people were really fitted to be imposed upon, nothing could be too gross for them.

This was, indeed, his first considerable experiment upon them as a people, or a body; and the truth is, his

affairs required it, for Satan, who had been a successful Devil, in most of his attempts upon mankind, could hardly doubt of success in anything, after he had carried his point at Mount Sinai; to bring them to idolatry in the very face of their deliverer, and just after the deliverance! It was more astonishing in the main than even their passing the Red Sea; in a word, the Devil's whole history doth not furnish us with a story equally surprising.

And how was poor Aaron bewildered in it too? He that was Moses' partner in all the great things that Moses did in Pharaoh's sight, and that was appointed to be his assistant and oracle, or orator rather, upon all public occasions, that he above all the rest, should come into this absurd and ridiculous proposal, he that was singled out for the sacred priesthood, for him to defile his holy hands, with a polluted abominable sacrifice, and with making the idol for them too, (for it was plain that he made it) how monstrous it was!

And see what an answer he gives to his brother Moses, how weak; how simple! I did so and so, indeed, I bade them bring the ear-rings, &c., and I cast the gold into the fire, and it came out this calf. Ridiculous! as if the calf came out by mere fortuitous adventure, without a mould to cast it in, which could not be supposed; and if it had not come out so without a mould, Moses would certainly have known it; had Aaron been innocent, he would have answered after quite another manner, and told Moses honestly, that the whole body of the people came to him in a fright, that they forced him to make them an idol; which he did, by making first the proper mould to cast it in, and then taking the proper metal to cast it from; that, indeed, he had sinned in so doing, but that he was mobbed into it, and the people terrified him, perhaps, they threatened to kill him, and if he had added, that the Devil prompted his fear, beguiled him, he said nothing but what was certainly true; for it was in Satan's power to make the people insolent and outrageous enough to threaten and bully the old venerable

prophet (for he was not yet a priest), who was the brother of their oracle Moses, and had been partner with him in so many of his commissions; I say, if he could bring up the passion of the people to an height to be rude and unmannerly to him (Aaron), and, perhaps, to threaten and insult him, he may be easily supposed to be able to intimidate Aaron, and terrify him into a compliance.

See this cunning agent, when he has man's destruction in his view, how securely he acts! he never wants a handle; the best of men have one weak place or other, and he always finds it out, takes the advantage of it, and conquers them by one artifice or another; only take it with you as you go, it is always by stratagem, never by force, a proof that he is not empowered to use violence; he may tempt, and he does prevail, but it is all legerdemain, it is all craft and artifice; he is still the calumniator and deceiver, that is, the misrepresenter; he misrepresents man to God, and misrepresents God to man; also he misrepresents things; he puts false colours, and then manages the eye to see them with an imperfect view, raising clouds and fogs to intercept our sight; in short, he deceives all our senses, and imposes upon us in things which otherwise would be the easiest to discern and judge of.

This, indeed, is in part the benefit of the Devil's history to let us see that he has used the same method all along, and that ever since he has had anything to do with mankind, he has practised upon them with stratagem and cunning; also it is observable, that he has carried his point better that way than he would have done by fury and violence, if he had been allowed to make use of it; for by his power, indeed, he might laid the world desolate, and made a heap of rubbish of it long ago, but, as I have observed before, that would not have answered his ends half so well, for by destroying men, he would have made martyrs, and sent abundance of good men to heaven, who would much rather have died than yielded to serve him, and, as he aimed to have it,

to fall down and worship him; I say, he would have made martyrs, and that not a few, but this was none of Satan's business, his design lies quite another way; his business is to make men sin, not to make them suffer; to make devils of them, not saints; to delude them, and draw them away from their Maker, not send them away to him; and, therefore, he works by stratagem, not by force.

We are now come to his story, as it relates to the Jewish church in the wilderness, and to the children of Israel in their travelling circumstances; and this was the first scene of public management that the Devil had upon his hands in the world, for, as I have said, till now he hath dealt with mankind either in their separate condition one by one, or else carried all before him, engrossing whole nations in his systems of idolatry, and overwhelming them in an ignorant destruction.

But, having now a whole people as it were snatched away from him, taken out of his government, and, which was still worse, having a view of a kingdom being set up independent of him, and superior to his authority, it is not to be wondered at if he endeavoured to overthrow them in the infancy of their constitution, and tried all possible arts to bring them back into his own hands again.

He found them not only carried away from the country where they were fast in his clutches surrounded with idols, and where we have reason to believe the greatest part of them were polluted with the idolatry of the Egyptians; for we do not read of any stated worship which they had of their own; or if they did worship the true God, we scarce know in what manner they did it, they had no law given them, nothing but the covenant of circumcision, and even Moses himself had not strictly observed that till he was frightened into it: we read of no sacrifices among them, no feasts were ordained, no solemn worship appointed; and how, or in what they performed their homage we

know not, the passover was not ordained till just at their coming away, so that there was not much religion among them, at least that we have any account of; and we may suppose the Devil was pretty easy with them all the while they were in the house of their bondage.

But now to have a million people fetched out of his hands, as it were all at once, and to have the immediate power of heaven engaged in it, and that Satan saw evidently God had singled them out in a miraculous manner to favour them, and call them his own; this alarmed him at once, and, therefore, he resolves to follow them, lay close siege to them, and take all the measures possible to bring them to rebel against, and disobey God, that he might be provoked to destroy them, and how near he went to bring it to pass we shall see presently.

The making a calf, and paying an idolatrous worship to it (for they acted the heathens and idolators, not in the setting up the calf only, but in the manner of their worshipping, viz., dancing and music, things they had not been acquainted with in the worship of the true God), I mention here, to observe how the Devil not only imposed upon their principle, but upon their senses too; as if the awful Majesty of heaven, whose glory they had seen in Mount Sinai, where they stood, and whose pillar of cloud and fire was their guide and protection, would be worshipped by dancing round a calf! and that not a living creature, or real calf, but the mere image of a calf cast in gold, or, as some think, in brass gilded over.

But this was the Devil's way with mankind, namely, to impose upon their senses and bring them into the grossest follies and absurdities; and, having first made them fools, it was much easier to make them offenders.

In this very manner he acted with them through all the course of their wilderness travels; for, as they were led by the hand like children, defended by Omnipotence, fed by miracles, instructed immediately from heaven,

and in all things had Moses for their guide, they had no room to miscarry, but by acting the greatest absurdities, and committing the greatest follies in nature; and even these the Devil brought them to be guilty of in a surprising manner.—1 As God himself relieved them in every exigence, and supplied them in every want, one would think it was impossible they should be ever brought to question either his willingness or his ability, and yet they really objected against both, which was very provoking; and I doubt not, that when the Devil had brought them to act in such a preposterous manner, he really hoped and believed God would be provoked effectually. The testimonies of his care of them, and ability to supply them, were miraculous and undeniable; he gave them water from the rock, bread from the air, sent the fowls to feed them with flesh, and supported them all the way by miracles; their health was preserved, none were sick among them; their clothes did not wear out, nor their shoes grow old upon their feet. Could anything be more absurd than to doubt whether he could provide for them, who had never let them want for so many years.

But the Devil managed them in spite of miracles, nor did he ever give them over, till he had brought six hundred thousand of them to provoke God so highly, that he would not suffer above two of them to go into the land of promise; so that, in short. Satan gained his point as to that generation, for all their carcases fell in the wilderness. Let us take but a short view to what a height he brought them, and in what a rude absurd manner he acted, how he set them upon murmuring upon every occasion, now for water, then for bread. Nay, they murmured at their bread when they had it; "Our souls loathe this light bread."

He sowed the seed of church rebellion in the sons of Aaron, and made Nahab and Abihu offer strange fire till they were strangely consumed by fire for the doing of it.

He set them a complaining at Taberah, and a lusting

for flesh at the first three days journey from Mount Sinai.

He planted envy in the hearts of Miriam and Aaron against the authority of Moses, to pretend that God had spoken by them as well as by him, till he humbled the father, and made a leper of the daughter.

He debauched ten of the spies, frightened them with sham appearances of things, when they went out to search the land, and made them fright the whole people out of their understanding, as well as duty; for which six hundred thousand of their carcases fell in the wilderness.

He raised the rebellion of Korah, and the two hundred and fifty princes, till he brought them to be swallowed up alive.

He put Moses into a passion at Meribah, and ruffled the temper of the meekest man upon earth; by which he made both him and Aaron forfeit their share of the promise, and be shut out from the Holy Land.

He raised a mutiny among them when they travelled from mount Hor, till they brought fiery serpents among them to destroy them,

He tried to make Balaam the prophet curse them; but then the Devil was disappointed. However, he brought the Midianites to debauch them with women, as in the case of Zimri and Cozbi.

He tempted Achan with the wedge of gold, and the Babylonish garment, that he might take of the accursed thing, and be destroyed.

He tempted the whole people, not effectually, to drive out the cursed inhabitants of the land of promise, that they might remain, and be goads in their sides, till at last they often oppressed them for their idolatry, and which was worse, debauched them to idolatry.

He prompted the Benjamites to refuse satisfaction to the people, in the case of the wickedness of the men of Gibeah, to the destruction of the whole tribe, six hundred men excepted in the rock Rimmon.

At last he tempted them to reject the theocracy of

their Maker, and call upon Samuel to make them a king; and most of those kings he made plagues and sorrows to them in their time, as you shall hear in their order.

Thus he plagued the whole body of the people continually, making them sin against God, and bring judgments upon themselves, to the consuming some millions of them, first and last by the vengeance of their Maker.

As he did with the whole congregation, so he did with their rulers, and several of the judges, who were made instruments to deliver the people, yet were drawn into snares by the subtil serpent, to ruin themselves, or the people they had delivered.

He tempted Gideon to make an ephod, contrary to the law of the tabernacle, and made the children of Israel go a whoring (that is a worshipping) after it.

He tempted Sampson to debauch himself with a harlot and betray his own happy secret to a whore, at the expense of both his eyes, and at last of his life.

He tempted Eli's sons to lie with the women in the very doors of the tabernacle, when they came to bring their offering to the priest; and he tempted poor Eli to connive at them, or not sufficiently reprove them.

He tempted the people to carry the ark of God into the camp, that it might fall into the hands of the Philistines. And

He tempted Uzza to reach out his hand to hold it up as if he that had preserved it in the house of Dagon, the idol of the Philistines, could not keep it from falling out of the cart.

When the people had gotten a king, he immediately set to work, in divers ways, to bring that king to load them with plagues and calamities not a few.

He tempted Saul to spare the king of Amalek, contrary to God's express command.

He not only tempted Saul, but possessed him with an evil spirit, by which he was left to wayward dis-

positions, and was forced to have it fiddled out of him with a minstrel.

He tempted Saul with a spirit of discontent, and with a spirit of envy at poor David, to hunt him like a partridge upon the mountains.

He tempted Saul with a spirit of divination, and sent him to a witch to inquire of Samuel for him; as if God would help him after the death of that prophet, when he had forsaken him during his life.

After that, he tempted him to kill himself, on a pretence that he might not fall into the hands of the uncircumcised, as if self-murder was not half so bad, either for sin against God, or disgrace among man, as being taken prisoner by a Philistine! a piece of madness none but the Devil could have brought mankind to submit to, though some ages after that he made it a fashion among the Romans.

After Saul was dead, and David came to the throne, by how much he was a man chosen, and particularly favoured by heaven, the Devil fell upon him with the more vigour, attacked him so many ways, and conquered him so very often, that, as no man was so good a king, so hardly any good king was ever a worse man. In many cases, one would have almost thought the Devil had made sport with David, to show how easily he could overthrow the best man of God could choose of the whole congregation.

He made him distrust his benefactor so much, as to feign himself mad before the king of Gath, when he had fled to him for shelter.

He made him march with his four hundred cut-throats, to cut off poor Nabal and all his household, only because he would not send him the good cheer he had provided for his honest sheep-shearers.

He made him, for his word's sake, give Ziba half his master's estate for his treachery, after he knew he had been the traitor, and betrayed poor Mephibosheth for the sake of it; in which—

" The good old king, it seems was very loath
To break his word, and, therefore, broke his oath."

Then he tempted him to the ridiculous project of numbering the people, though against God's express command; a thing Joab himself was not wicked enough to do, till David and the Devil forced him to it.

And to make him completely wicked, he carried him to the top of his house, and showed him a naked lady bathing herself in her garden; in which it appeared, that the Devil knew David too well, and what was the particular sin of his inclination; and so took him by the right handle, drawing him at once into the sins of murder and adultery,

Then, that he might not give him quite over, (though David's repentance for the last sin kept the Devil off for awhile) when he could attack him no farther personally, he fell upon him in his family, and made him as miserable as he could desire him to be in his children; three of whom he brought to destruction before his face, and another after his death.

First, he tempted Ammon to ravish his sister, Tamar, so there was an end of her, (poor girl!) as to this world, for we never heard any more of her.

Then he tempted Absalom to murder his brother Ammon in revenge.

Then he made Joab run Absalom through the body contrary to David's command.

And after David's death, he brought Adonijah (weak man!) to the block, for usurping King Solomon's throne.

As to Absalom he tempted him to rebellion, and raising war against his father, to the turning him shamefully out of Jerusalem, and almost out of the kingdom.

He tempted him, for David's farther mortification, to lie with his father's wives, in the face of the whole city; and had Achitophel's honest counsel been followed, he had certainly sent him to sleep with his

fathers long before his time; but there Satan and Achitophel were both outwitted together.

Through all the reigns of the several successors of David, the Devil took care to carry on his own game, to the continual insulting the measures which God himself had taken for the establishing his people in the world, and especially as a church; till at last he so effectually debauched them to idolatry,—that crime, which of all others was most provoking to God, as it was carrying the people away from their allegiance, and transposing the homage they owed God their Master, to a contemptuous block of wood, or an image of a brute beast; and this, how sordid and brutish soever it was in itself, yet so did his artifice prevail among them, that, first or last, he brought them all into it, the ten tribes as well as the two tribes, till at last God himself was provoked to unchurch them, gave them up to their enemies; and the few that were left of them, after incredible slaughters and desolation, were hurried away, some into Tartary, and others into Babylon; from whence very few of that few that were carried away, ever found their way home again; and some, when they might have come, would not accept of it, but continued there to the very coming of the Messiah. See epistles of St. James, and of St. Peter, at the beginning.

But to look a little back upon this part (for it cannot be omitted, it makes so considerable part of the Devil's history), I mean his drawing God's people, kings and all, into all the sins and mischiefs which gradually contributed to their destruction.

First (for he began immediately with the very best and wisest of the race), he drew in King Solomon, in the midst of all his zeal for the building God's house, and for the making the most glorious and magnificent appearance for God's worship that ever the world saw. I say, in the middle of all this he drew him into such immoderate and insatiable appetite for women, as to set up the first, and, perhaps, the greatest seraglio of

whores, that ever any prince in the world had, or pretended to before; nay, and to bring whoring so much into reputation, that, as the text says, "seven hundred of them were princesses," that is to say, ladies of quality; not as the Grand Signiors and Great Moguls (other princes of the eastern world) have since practised, namely, to pick up their most beautiful slaves; but these it seems were women of rank, kings' daughters, as Pharaoh's daughter, and the daughters of the princes and prime men among the Moabites, Ammonites, Zidonians, Hittites, &c.—1 Kings, xi. 1.

Nor was this all: but as he drew him into the love of these forbidden women (for such they were as to their nation, as well as number), so he ensnared him by those women to a familiarity with their worship, and by degrees brought that famous prince (famous for his wisdom) to be the greatest and most imposed upon old fool in the world; bowing down to those idols, by the enticing of his whores, whom he had abhorred and detested in his youth, as dishonouring that God, for whom, and for whose worship, he had finished and dedicated the most magnificent building and temple in the world. Nothing but the invincible subtilty of this Arch-Devil, could ever have brought such a man as Solomon to such a degeneracy of manners, and to such meannesses; no, not the Devil himself, without the assistance of his whores, nor the whores themselves without the Devil to help them.

As to Solomon, Satan had made conquest enough there, we need hear no more of him. The next advance he made, was in the person of his son Rehoboam. Had not the Devil prompted his pride and tyrannical humour, he would never have given the people such an answer as he did, and when he saw a fellow at the head of them too, who he knew wanted and waited for an occasion to raise a rebellion, and had ripened up the people's humour to the occasion. Well might the text call it listening to the counsels of the young heads, that it was indeed without vengeance! but these young

heads too were acted upon by an old Devil, who for his craft, is called, as I have observed, the Old Serpent.

Having thus paved the way, Jeroboam revolts. So far God had directed him; for the text says expressly, speaking in the first person of God himself, "This thing is of me."

But though God might appoint Jeroboam to be king, (that is to say, of ten tribes) yet God did not appoint him to set up the two calves in the two extreme parts of the land, viz., in Dan and in Bethel. That was Jeroboam's own doing, and done on purpose to keep the people from falling back to Rehoboam, by being obliged to go to Jerusalem to the public worship; and the text adds, "Jeroboam made Israel to sin." This was, indeed, a master piece of the Devil's policy, and it was effectual to answer the end. Nothing could have been more to the purpose. What reason he had to expect the people would so universally come into it, and be so well satisfied with a couple of calves, instead of the true worship of God at Jerusalem; or what arts and management he (Satan) made use of afterwards, to bring the people in to join with such a delusion; that we find but little of in the annals of Satan, nor is it much to the case. It is certain the Devil found a strange kind of propensity to worshipping idols rooted in the temper of that whole people, even from their first breaking away from the Egyptian bondage; so that he had nothing to do but to work upon the old stock, and propagate the crime that he found was so natural to them. And this is Satan's general way of working, not with them only, but with us also, and with all the world, even then, and ever since.

When he had thus secured Jeroboam's revolt, we need not trace him among his successors, for the same reason of state that held for the setting up the calves at Bethel and Dan, held good for the keeping them up to all Jeroboam's posterity, nor had they one good king ever after. Even Jehu, who called his friends to come and

see his zeal for the Lord, and who fulfilled the threatenings of God, upon Ahab and his family, and upon Queen Jezebel and her offspring, and knew all the while that he was executing the judgment of the true God upon an idolatrous race; yet he would not part with his calves, but would have thought it had been parting with his kingdom, and that as the people would have gone up to Jerusalem to worship, so they would at the same time have transferred their civil obedience to the King of Judah (whose right it really was, as far as they could claim by birth and right line); so that, by the way, Satan any more than other politicians, is not for the *jus divinum* of lineal succession, or what we call hereditary right, any farther than serves for his purpose.

Thus Satan ridded his hands of ten of the twelve tribes. Let us now see how he went on with the rest; for his work was now brought into a narrower compass. The church of God was now reduced to two tribes, except a few religious people who separated from the schism of Jeroboam, and came and planted themselves among the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. The first thing the Devil did after this, was to foment a war between the two kings, while Judah was governed by a boy or youth, Abijah by name; and he none of the best neither; but God's time was not come, and the Devil received a great disappointment; when Jeroboam was so entirely overthrown, that if the records to those ages do not mistake, no less than 500,000 men of Israel were killed; such a slaughter that one would think the army of Judah, had they known how to improve as well as gain a victory, might have brought all the rest back again, and have entirely reduced the house of Jeroboam, and the ten tribes that followed him to their obedience; nay, they did take a great deal of the country from them, and among the rest Bethel itself; and yet so cunningly did Satan manage, that the king of Judah, who was himself a wicked king, and, perhaps, an idolator in his heart, did not take down the

golden calf that Jeroboam had there, no, nor destroy the idolatry itself; so that, in short, his victory signified nothing.

From hence to the captivity, we find the Devil busy with the kings of Judah, especially the best of them. As for such as Manasseh, and those who transgressed in the general tenor of their lives, those he had no great trouble with.

But such as Asa, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah, he hung about them and their courts, till he brought every one of them into some mischief or other.

At first, good king Asa, of whom the Scriptures says, "his heart was perfect all his days," yet this subtil spirit, that could break in upon him no where else, tempted him, when the king of Israel came out against him to send to hire Benhadad, the king of Syria, to help him; as if God, who had before enabled him to conquer the Ethiopians, with an army of ten hundred thousand men could not have saved him from the king of the ten tribes.

In the same manner he tempted Jehoshaphat to join with the wicked king, Ahab, against the king of Syria; and also to marry his son to Ahab's daughter, which was fatal to Jehoshaphat and to his posterity.

Again, he tempted Hezekiah to show all his riches to the king of Babylon's messengers, and who can doubt but that he (Satan) is to be understood by the wicked spirit which stood before the Lord, 2 Chron. xviii. 20, and offered his service to entice Ahab the king of Israel to come out to battle, to his ruin, by being a lying spirit in the mouths of all his prophets, and who, for that time, had a special commission, as he had another time in the case of Job? And, indeed, it was a commission fit for nobody but the Devil:—"Thou shalt entice him, and thou shalt also prevail: Go out and do even so." ver. 21.

Even good Josiah himself, of whom it is recorded, 'that like him there was no king before him, neither after him arose there any like him;" 2 Kings xxiii. 25;

yet the Devil never left him with his machinations, till, finding he could not tempt him to anything wicked in his government, he tempted or moved him to a needless war with the king of Egypt, in which he lost his life.

From the death of this good king, the Devil prevailed so with the whole nation of the Jews, and brought them to such an incorrigible pitch of wickedness, that God gave them up, forsook his habitation of glory the temple, which he suffered to be spoiled first, then burnt and demolished, — destroying the whole nation of the Jews, except a small number that were left, and those the enemy carried away into captivity.

Nor was he satisfied with this general destruction of the whole people of Israel, (for the ten tribes were gone before); but he followed them, even into their captivity. Those that fled away to Egypt, which they tell us were seventy thousand, he first corrupted, and they were then destroyed there, upon the overthrow of Egypt, by the same king of Babylon.

Also, he went very near to have them rooted out young and old, man, woman, and child, who were in captivity in Babylon, by the ministry of that true agent of hell, Haman the Agagite. But there Satan met with a disappointment too, as in the story of Esther, which was but the fourth that he had met with, in all his management since the creation; I say, there he was disappointed, and his prime minister Haman was exalted, as he deserved.

Having thus far traced the government and dominion of the Devil, from the creation of man to the captivity, I think I may call upon him to set up his standard of universal empire at that period. It seemed just then as if God had really forsaken the earth, and given the entire dominion of mankind up to his outrageous enemy the Devil; for, excepting the few Israelites, which were left in the territories of the king of Babylon, and they were but a few,—I say, except among them, there was not one corner of the world left where the true God

was called upon, or his dominion so much as acknowledged. All the world was buried in idolatry, and that of so many horrid kinds, that one would think the light of reason should have convinced mankind, that he who exacted such bloody sacrifices as that of Moloch, and such bloody cutting of themselves with knives as the priests Baal did, could not be a god, a good and beneficent being, but must be a cruel, voracious, and devouring Devil, whose end was not the good, but the destruction of his creatures. But to such a height was the blind dementated world arrived, at that time, that in these sordid and corrupt ways they went on worshipping dumb idols, and offering human sacrifices to them; and in a word, committing all the most horrid and absurd abominations that they were capable of, or that the Devil could prompt them to, till Heaven was again put, as it were, to the necessity of bringing about a revolution in favour of his own people, by miracle and surprise, as he had done before.

We come, therefore, to the restoration or return of the captivity. Had Satan been able to have acted anything by force, as I have observed before, all the princes and powers of the world having been, as they really were at his devotion, he might easily have made use of them, armed all the world against the Jews, and prevented the rebuilding the temple, and even the return of the captivity.

But now the Devil's power manifestly received a check, and the hand of God appeared in it, and that he was resolved to re-establish his people the Jews, and to have a second temple built. The Devil, who knew the extent of his own power too well, and what limitations were laid upon him, stood still, as it were, looking on, which he very well knew had been prophesied, and would come to pass.

He did, indeed, make some little opposition to the building and to the fortifying the city; but as it was to no purpose, so he was soon obliged to give it over; and thus the captivity being returned, and the temple

rebuilt, the people of the Jews increased and multiplied to an infinite number and strength; and from this time we may say, the power of the Devil rather declined and decreased, than went on with success, as it had done before. It is true, the Jews fell into sects and errors, and divisions of many kinds after the return from the captivity; and no doubt, the Devil had a great hand in those divisions, but he could never bring them back to idolatry; and his not being able to do that, made him turn his hand so many ways to plague and oppress them; as particularly by Antiochus the Great, who brought the abomination of desolation into the holy place; and there the Devil triumphed over them for sometime, but they were delivered many ways, till at last they came peaceably under the protection rather than the dominion of the Roman empire; when Herod the Great governed them as a king, and re-edified, nay, almost rebuilt their temple, with so great an expense and magnificence, that he made it, as some say, greater and more glorious than that of Solomon's; though that I take to be a great —— fable, to say no worse of it.

In this condition the Jewish church stood, when the fulness of time, as it is called in Scripture, was come; and the Devil was kept at bay, though he had made some enroachments upon them as above; for there was a glorious remnant of saints among them, such as old Zecharias, the father of John the Baptist, and old Simeon, who waited for the salvation of Israel; I say, in this condition the Jewish church stood when the Messiah came into the world, which was such another mortal stab to the thrones, principalities infernal, as that I have spoken of already in chapter iii. at the creation of man, and, therefore, with this I break off the antiquities of the Devil's history, or the ancient part of his kingdom; for from hence downward, we shall find his empire has declined gradually, and though by his wonderful address, his prodigious application, and vigilance and fidelity of his instruments, as well

human, as infernal and diabolical, and of the human, as well the ecclesiastic as the secular, he has many times retrieved what he had lost, and sometimes bid fair for recovering the universal empire he once possessed over mankind; yet he has been still defeated again, repulsed, and beaten back, and his kingdom has greatly declined, in many parts of the world, and especially in the northern parts, except Great Britain? and how he has politically maintained his interest, and increased his dominion, among the wise and righteous generation that we cohabit with and among, will be the subject of the modern part of Satan's history, and of which we are next to give an account.

END OF THE FIRST PART.

THE

MODERN HISTORY

OF THE

DEVIL.

CHAPTER I.

I HAVE examined the antiquities of Satan's history in the former part of this work, and brought his affairs, down from the creation, as far as to our blessed Christian times; especially to the coming of the Messiah, when one would think the Devil could have nothing to do among us. I have, indeed, but touched at such things which might have admitted of a farther description of Satan's affairs, and the particulars of which we may all come to a farther knowledge of hereafter, yet I think I have spoken to the material part of his conduct, as it relates to his empire in this world; what has happened to his more sublimated government, and his angelic capacities, I shall have an occasion to touch at in several solid particulars as we go along.

The Messiah was now born, the fulness of time was come, that the old serpent was to have his head broken; that is to say, his empire or dominion over man, which he gained by the fall of our first father and mother in Paradise, received a downfall or overthrow.

It is worth observing, in order to confirm what I have already mentioned of the limitation of Satan's dower,

that not only his angelic strength seems to have received a farther blow upon the coming of the Son of God into the world, but he seems to have had a blow upon his intellects; his serpentine craft and devil-like subtilty seems to have been circumcised, and cut short; and instead of his being so cunning a fellow as before, when, as I said, it is evident he outwitted all mankind, not only Eve, Cain, Noah, Lot, and all the patriarchs, but even nations of men, and that in their public capacity; and thereby led them into absurd and ridiculous things such as the building of Babel, and deifying and worshipping their kings when dead and rotten; idolizing beasts, stocks, stones, anything, and even nothing; and in a word, when he managed mankind just as he pleased.

Now, and from this time forward, he appeared a weak, foolish, ignorant Devil, compared to what he was before. He was upon almost every occasion resisted, disappointed, baulked and defeated; especially in all his attempts to thwart or cross the mission ministry of the Messiah, while he was upon earth, and sometimes upon other and very mean occasions too.

And first, how foolish a project was it, and how below Satan's celebrated artifice in like cases, to put Herod upon sending to kill the poor innocent children in Bethlehem, in hopes to destroy Christ? for I take it for granted, it was the Devil put it into Herod's thoughts that execution, how simple and foolish soever; now we must allow him to be very ignorant of the nativity himself, or else he might easily have guided his friend Herod to the place where the infant was.

This shows that either the Devil is in general ignorant, as we are, of what is to happen in the world, before it is really come to pass; and, consequently, can foretel nothing, no, not so much as our famous old Merlin or mother Shipton did; or else that great event was hid from him by an immediate power superior to his, which I cannot think neither, considering how

much he was concerned in it, and how certainly he knew that it was once to come to pass.

But be that as it will, it is certain the Devil knew nothing where Christ was born, or when; nor was he able to direct Herod to find him out; and, therefore, put him upon that foolish, as well as cruel order to kill all the children, that he might be sure to destroy the Messiah among the rest.

The next simple step that the Devil took, and indeed, the most foolish one that he could ever be charged with, unworthy the very dignity of a devil, and below the understanding that he always was allowed to act with, was that of coming to tempt the Messiah in the wilderness; it is certain, and he owned it himself afterwards, upon many occasions, that the Devil knew our Saviour to be the Son of God; and it is as certain that he knew that as such he could have no power or advantage over him; how foolish then was it in him to attack him in that manner, "If thou be the Son of God?" why he knew him to be the Son of God well enough, he said so afterwards, "I know thee who thou art, the Holy One of God;" how then could he be so weak a Devil as to say, if thou art, then do so and so?

The case is plain, the Devil, though he knew him to be the Son of God, did not fully know the mystery of the incarnation; nor did he know how far the incarnation of Christ extended, and whether, as man, he was not subject to fall as Adam was, though his reserved godhead might be still immaculate and pure, and upon this foot, as he would have no method untried, he attempts him three times, one immediately after another; but then, finding himself disappointed, he fled.

This evidently proves, that the Devil was ignorant of the great mystery of godliness, as the text calls it, God manifest in the flesh; and, therefore, made that foolish attempt upon Christ, thinking to have conquered his human nature, as capable of sin, which it was not; and at this repulse, hell groaned; the whole army of regimented devils received a wound, and felt

the shock of it; it was a second overthrow to them, they had a long train of success, carried a devilish conquest over the greatest part of the creation of God; but now they were cut short, the seed of the woman was now come to break the Serpent's head, that is to cut short his power, to contract the limits of his kingdom, and in a word, to dethrone him in the world; no doubt, the Devil received a shock, for you find him always afterwards crying out in a horrible manner, whenever Christ met with him; or else very humble and submissive, as when he begged leave to go into the herd of swine, a thing he has often done since.

Defeated here, the first stratagem I find him concerned in after it, was his entering into Judas, and putting him upon betraying Christ to the chief priest; but here again he was entirely mistaken, for he did not see, as much a Devil as he was, what the event would be; but when he came to know, that if Christ was put to death, he would become a propitiatory, and be the great sacrifice of mankind, so to rescue the fallen race from that death they had incurred the penalty of by the fall; that this was the fulfilling of all Scripture prophecy; and that thus it was that Christ was to be the end of the law; I say, as soon as he perceived this, he strove all he could to prevent it, and disturbed Pilate's wife in her sleep, in order to set her upon her husband to hinder his delivering him up to the Jews; for then, and not till then, he knew how Christ was to vanquish hell by the power of his cross.

Thus the Devil was disappointed, and exposed in every step he took; and as he now plainly saw his kingdom declining, and even the temporal kingdom of Christ rising up upon the ruins of Satan's power, he seemed to retreat into his own region, the air, and to consult there with his fellow devils what measures he should take next to preserve his dominion among men. Here it was that he resolved upon that truly hellish thing called persecution; by which, though he proved

a foolish Devil in that too, he flattered himself he should be able to destroy God's church, and root out his professors from the earth, even almost as soon as it was established; whereas, on the contrary, Heaven counteracted him there too; and though he armed the whole Roman empire against the Christians, that is to say, the whole world; and they were fallen upon every where, with great fury and rage, by some of the most flaming tyrants that the world ever saw, of whom Nero was the first; yet in spite of hell, God made all the blood which the Devil caused to be spilt, to be *semen ecclesiæ;* and the Devil had the mortification to see, that the number of Christians increased, even under the very means he made use of to root them out and destroy them, this was the case through the reigns of all the Roman emperors, for the first three hundred years after Christ.

Having thus tried all the methods that best suited his inclination, I mean those of blood and death, complicated with tortures, and all kind of cruelty, and that for so long a space of time as above; the Devil all of a sudden, as if glutted with blood, and satiated with destruction, sits still, and becomes a peaceable spectator for a good while, as if he either found himself unable, or had no disposition, to hinder the progress of Christianity, in the first ages of its settlement in the world; in this interval the Christian church was established under Constantine, religion flourished in peace, and under the most perfect tranquility, the Devil seemed to be at a loss what he should do next, and things began to look as if Satan's kingdom was at an end; but he soon let them see that he was the same indefatigable Devil that he ever was, and the prosperity of the church gave him a large field of action; for, knowing the disposition of mankind to quarrel and dispute, the universal passion rooted in nature, especially among the churchmen for precedency and dominion, he fell to work with them immediately; so that, turning the tables, and re-assuming the subtilty and craft, which I say, he seemed to

have lost in the former four hundred years, he gained more ground in the next ages of the church, and went farther towards [illegible] his power and empire in the world, and towards overthrowing [illegible] church which was so lately established, than all he had done by fire and blood before

His policy now seemed to be edged with resentment for the mistakes he had made; as if the Devil, looking back with anger at himself, to see what a fool he had been, to expect to crush religion by persecution, rejoiced for having discovered that liberty and dominion was the only way to ruin the church, not fire and faggot; and that he had nothing to do, but to give the zealous people their utmost liberty in religion, only sowing error and variety of opinion among them, and they would bring fire and faggot fast enough among themselves.

It must be confessed these were devilish politics; and so sure was the aim, and so certain was the Devil to hit his mark by them, that we find he not only did not fail then, but the same hellish methods have prevailed still, and will do so to the end of the world. Nor had the Devil ever a better game to play than this, for the ruin of religion as we shall have room to show in many examples, besides that of the dissenters in England, who are evidently weakened by the late toleration; whether the Devil had any hand in baiting his hook with an act of Parliament or not, history is silent; but it is too evident he has caught the fish by it: and if the honest church of England does not in pity, and Christian charity to the dissenters, straighten her hand a little, I cannot but fear the Devil will gain his point, and the dissenters will be undone by it.

Upon this new foot of politics the Devil began with the emperors themselves; Arius, the father of the heretics of that age, having broached his opinions, and Athanasius the orthodox bishop of the east, opposing him, the Devil no sooner saw the door open to strife and imposition, but he thrust himself in, and raising

the quarrel up to a suited degree of rage and spleen, he involved the good emperor himself in it, and again several Athanasius was banished and [illegible] times, as error ran high and as the Devil either lost [illegible] ground. After Constantine, the next emperor was a child of his own (Arian); and then the court all came into the quarrel as courts often do; and the Arians and the orthodox persecuted one another as furiously as the pagans persecuted them all before. To such an height the Devil brought his conquest, in the very infancy of the question; and so much did he prevail over the true Christianity of the primitive church, even before they had enjoyed the liberty of the pure worship twenty years.

Flushed with this success, the Devil made one push for the restoring paganism, and bringing on the old worship of the heathen idols and temples; but, like our King James II., he drove too hard, and Julian had so provoked the whole Roman empire, which was generally, at that time, become Christian, that had the apostate lived, he would not have been able to have held the throne; and as he was cut off in his beginning, paganism expired with him, and the Devil himself might have cried as Julian did, and with much more propriety, *Vicisii Galilæe.*

Juvian, the next emperor, being a glorious Christian, and a very good and great man, the Devil abdicated for a while, and left the Christian armies to re-establish the orthodox faith; nor could he bring the Christians to a breach again among themselves a great while after.

However, time, and a diligent Devil, did the work at last; and when the emperors, concerning themselves one way or other did not appear sufficient to answer his end, he changed hands again, and went to work with the clergy; to set the doctors effectually together by the ears, he threw in the new notion of primacy among them, for a bone of contention; the bait took, the priests swallowed it eagerly down, and the Devil,

a cunninger fisherman than ever St. Peter was, struck them (as the anglers call it) with a quick hand, and hung them fast upon the hook.

Having them thus in his clutches, and they being now, as we may say his own, they took their measures afterwards from him, and most obediently followed his directions; nay, I will not say but he may have had pretty much the management of the whole society ever since, of what profession or party soever they may have been, with exception only to the reverend and right reverend among ourselves.

The sacred as above, being thus hooked in, and the Devil being at the head of their affairs, matters went on most gloriously his own way; first, the bishops fell to bandying and party-making for the superiority, as heartily as ever temporal tyrants did for dominion; and took as black devilish methods to carry it on, as the worst of those tyrants ever had done before them.

At last Satan declared for the Roman pontiff, and that upon excellent conditions, in the reign of the Emperor Mauritius; for Boniface, who had long contended for the title of supreme, fell into a treaty with Phocas, captain of the emperor's guard; whether the bargain was from hell or not, let any one judge; the conditions absolutely entitle the Devil to the honour of making the contract, viz.:—That Phocas first murdered his master (the emperor), and his sons, Boniface should countenance the treason, and declare him emperor; and in return, Phocas should acknowledge the primacy of the church of Rome, and declare Boniface universal bishop. A blessed compact! which at once left the Devil at the head of affairs in the Christian world, as well spiritual as temporal, ecclesiastic as civil. Since the conquest over Eve in Paradise, by which death and the Devil, hand in hand, established their first empire upon earth, the Devil never gained a more important point than he gained at this time.

He had, indeed, prospered in his affairs tolerably well for sometime before this, and his interest among the

clergy had not got ground for some ages; but that was indeed a secret management, was carried on privately, and with difficulty; as in sowing a discord and faction among the people, perplexing the councils of their princes, and secretly wheedling in with the dignified clergy.

He also had raised abundance of little church rebellions, by setting up heretics of several kinds, and raising them favourers among the clergy, such as Ebion, Corinthus, Pelagius and others.

He had drawn the bishops of Rome to set up the ridiculous pageantry of the *key;* and while he, the Devil, set open the gates of hell to them all, put them upon locking up the gates of heaven, and giving the bishop the key, a cheat which, as gross as it was, the Devil so gilded over, and so blinded the age to receive it, that like Gideon's ephod, all the catholic world went whoring after the idol; and the bishop of Rome sent more fools to the Devil by it, than ever he pretended to let into heaven, though he opened the door as wide as his key was able to do.

The story of this key being given to the bishop of Rome by St. Peter, who, by the way, never had it himself, and of its being lost by somebody or other, (the Devil it seems did not tell them who) and it being found again by a Lombard soldier, in the army of king Antharis; who, attempting to cut it with his knife, was miraculously forced to direct the wound to himself, and cut his own throat; that king Antharis and his nobles, happened to see the fellow do it, and were converted to Christianity by it; and that the king sent the key, with another made like it to Pope Pelagius, then bishop of Rome, who, thereupon, assumed the power of opening and shutting heaven's gates; and afterwards setting a price or toll upon the entrance, as we do here at passing a turnpike; these fine things, I say, were successfully managed for some years before this I am now speaking of; and the Devil got a great deal of ground by it too; but now he triumphed

openly, and having set up a murderer on the temporal throne, and a church emperor upon the ecclesisatic throne, and both of his own choosing, the Devil may be said to begin his new kingdom from this epocha, and call it the restoration.

Since this time, indeed, the Devil's affairs went very merrily on, and the clergy brought so many gewgaws into their worship, and such devilish principles were mixed with that which we called the Christian faith, that, in a word, from this time the bishop of Rome commenced whore of Babylon, in the most express terms that could be imagined; tyranny of the worst sort crept into the pontificate; errors of all sorts into the profession; and they proceeded from one thing to another, till the very popes, for so the bishops of Rome were now called by way of distinction, I say, the popes themselves, their spiritual guides, professed openly to confederate with the Devil, and to carry on a personal and private correspondence with him, at the same time taking upon them the title of Christ's Vicar, and the infallible guide to the consciences of Christians.

This we have sundry instances of in some merry popes, who, if fame lies not, were sorcerors, magicians—had familiar as well as immediate conversation with the Devil, as well visibly as invisibly; and by this means became what we call devils incarnate. Upon this account it is, that I have left the conversation that passes between devils and men to this place, as well because I believe it differs much now in his modern state, from what it was in his ancient state, and, therefore, that which most concerns us belongs rather to this part of his history, as also, because as I am now writing to the present age, I choose to bring the most significant parts of his history, especially as they relate to ourselves, into that part of time that we are most concerned in.

The Devil had once, as I observed before, the universal monarchy or government of mankind in himself; and I doubt not but, in that flourishing state of his

affairs, he governed them like what he is, viz., an absolute tyrant. During this theocracy of his, for Satan is called the god of this world; he did not familiarise himself to mankind so much as he finds occasion to do now; there was not then so much need of it; he governed them with an absolute sway; he had his oracles, where he gave audience to his votaries, like a deity; and he had his sub-gods, who, under his several dispositions, received the homage of mankind in their names; such were all the rabble of the heathen deities, from Jupiter the supreme, to the Lares, or household gods of every family; these, I say, like residents, received the protestations, but the homage was all Satan's; the Devil had the substance of it all, which was the idolatry.

During this administration of hell, there was less witchcraft, less true literal magic, than there has been since; there was, indeed, no need of it, the Devil did not stoop to the mechanism of his more modern operations, but ruled as a deity, and received the vows and the bows of his subjects, in more state, and with more solemnity; whereas, since that he is content to employ more agents, and take more pains himself too; now he runs up and down hackney in the world, more like a drudge than a prince, and much more than he did then.

Hence all those things we call apparitions and visions of ghosts, familiar spirits, and dealings with the Devil, of which there is so great a variety in the world at this time, were not so much known among the people, in those first ages of the Devil's kingdom; in a word, the Devil seems to be put to his shifts, and to fly to art and stratagem for the carrying on his affairs, much more now than he did then.

One reason for this may be, that he has been more discovered and exposed in these ages than he was before; then he could appear in the world in his own proper shapes, and yet not be known; when the sons of God appeared at the divine summons, Satan came along

with them; but now he has played so many scurvy tricks upon men, and they know him so well, that he is obliged to play quite out of sight, and act in disguise; mankind will allow nothing of his doing, and hear nothing of his saying, in his own name; and if you propose anything to be done, and it be but said the Devil is to help in the doing it; or if you say of any man, he deals with the Devil, or, the Devil has a hand in it, everybody flies him and shuns him, as the most frightful thing in the world.

Nay, if anything strange and improbable be done, or related to be done, we presently say the Devil was at the doing it; thus the great ditch at Newmarket Heath is called the Devil's Ditch; so the Devil built Crowland Abbey, and the whispering place in Gloucester Cathedral; nay, the cave at Castleton, only because there is no getting to the farther end of it, is called the Devil's A——, and the like; the poor people of Wiltshire, when you ask them how the great stones at Stonehenge were brought thither, they will all tell you the Devil brought them; if any mischief extraordinary befals us, we presently say the Devil was in it, and the Devil would have it so; in a word, the Devil has got an ill name among us, and so he is fain to act more *in tenebris*, more *incog.*, than he used to do; play out of sight himself, and work by the sap, as engineers call it; and not open and avowedly, in his own name and person, as formerly, though, perhaps, not with less success than he did before; and this leads me to inquire more narrowly into the manner of the Devil's management of his affairs since the Christian religion began to spread in the world, which manifestly differs from his conduct in more ancient times; in which, if we discover some of the most consummate fool's policy, the most profound simple craft, and the most subtle shallow management of things that can, by our weak understandings, be conceived, we must only resolve it into this, that, in short, it is the Devil.

CHAPTER II.

Of Hell, as it is represented to us; and how the Devil is to be understood as being personally in Hell, when, at the same time, we find him at liberty ranging over the world.

It is true, as that learned and pleasant author, the inimitable Dr. Brown, says, the Devil is his own hell; one of the most constituting parts of his infelicity is, that he cannot act upon mankind *brevi manu*, by his own inherent power as well as rage; that he cannot unhinge this creation; which, as I have observed in its place, he has the utmost aversion to from its beginning, as it was a stated design in the Creator to supply his place in heaven with a new species of beings called men, and fill the vacancies occasioned by his degeneracy and rebellion.

This filled him with rage inexpressible, and horrible resolutions of revenge; and the impossibility of executing those resolutions torments him with despair; this, added to what he was before, makes him a complete Devil, with a hell in his own breast, and a fire unquenchable burning about his heart.

I might enlarge here, and very much to the purpose, in describing spherically and mathematically, that exquisite quality called a devilish spirit; in which it would naturally occur to give you a whole chapter upon the glorious articles of malice and envy, and especially upon that luscious, delightful, triumphant passion called revenge; how natural to man, nay, even to both sexes; how pleasant in the very contemplation, though there be not just at that time a power of execution; how palatable it is in itself; and how well it relishes when dished up with its proper sauces; such as plot, contrivance, scheme, and confederacy, all leading on to execution; how it possesses a human soul in even the

most sensible parts; how it empowers mankind to sin in imagination as effectually to all future intents and purposes, (damnation) as if he had sinned actually; how safe a practice it is too as to punishment in this life, namely, that it empowers us to cut throats clear of the gallows, to slander virtue, reproach innocence, wound honour, and stab reputation; and, in a word, to do all the wicked things in the world, out of the reach of the law.

It would also require some few words to describe the secret operations of those nice qualities, when they reach the human soul—how effectually they form a hell within us, and how imperceptibly they assimilate and transform us into devils, mere human devils, as really devils as Satan himself, or any of his angels; and that, therefore, it is not so much out of the way as some imagine, to say such a man is an incarnate devil; for as crime made Satan a devil, who was before a bright, immortal seraph or angel of light, how much more easily may the same crime make the same devil, though every way meaner and more contemptible, of a man or a woman either? But this is too grave a subject for me at this time.

The Devil being thus, I say, fired with rage and envy, in consequence of his jealousy upon the creation of man, his torment is increased to the highest by the limitation of his power, and being forbid to act against mankind by force of arms; that is, I say, part of his hell, which, as above, is within him, and which he carries with him wherever he goes; nor is it so difficult to conceive of hell, or the Devil either, under this just description, as it is by all the usual notions that we are taught to entertain of them by (the old women) our instructors, for every man may, by taking but a common view of himself, and making a just scrutiny into his own passions, or some of their particular excursions, see a hell within himself, and himself a mere devil as long as the inflammation lasts, and that as really, and to all intents and purposes, as if he had the angel (Satan) before his

face in all his locality and personality. that is to say, all devil and monster in his person. and an immaterial, but intense fire flaming about and from within him, at all the pores of his body.

The notions we receive of the Devil, as a person being in hell as a place, are infinitely absurd and ridiculous. The first we are certain is not true and fact, because he has a certain liberty (however limited, that is not to the purpose), is daily visible. and to be traced in his several attacks upon mankind, and has been so ever since his first appearance in Paradise. As to his corporeal visibility, that is not the present question, neither is it enough that we can hunt him by the foot. that we can follow him as hounds do a fox upon a hot scent. We can see him as plainly by the effect, by the mischief he does, and more by the mischief he puts us upon doing, I say, as plainly as if we saw him by the eye.

It is not to be doubted but the Devil can see us when and where we cannot see him; and as he has a personality, though it be spirituous, he and his angels too may be reasonably supposed to inhabit the world of spirits, and to have free access from thence to the regions of life, and to pass and repass in the air, as really, though nor perceptible to us. as the spirits of men do after their release from the body, pass to a place (wherever that is) which is appointed for them.

If the Devil was confined to a place (hell) as a prison, he could then have no business here; and if we pretend to describe hell as not a prison, but that the Devil has liberty to be there, or not to be there, as he pleased, then he would certainly never be there, or hell is not such a place as we are taught to understand it to be

Indeed, according to some. hell should be a place of fire or torment to the souls that are cast into it, but not to the devils themselves, whom we make little more or less than keepers and turnkeys to hell, as a gaol; that they are sent about to bring souls thither, lock them in when they come, and then away upon the scent to fetch more: that one sort of devils are made to live in

the world among men, and to be busy continually debauching and deluding mankind, bringing them, as it were, to the gates of hell; and then another sort are porters and carriers to fetch them in.

This is, in short, little more or less than the old story of Pluto, of Cerberus, and of Charon, only that our tale is not half so well told, nor the parts of the fable so well laid together.

In all these notions of hell and the Devil, the torments of the first, and the agency of the last tormenting, we meet with not one word of the main, and perhaps only accent of horror, which belongs us to judge of about hell, I mean, the absence of heaven, the expulsion and exclusion from the presence and face of the chief ultimate, the only eternal and sufficient God; and this loss sustained by a sordid neglect of our concern in that excellent part, in exchange for the most contemptible and justly condemned trifles, and all this eternal and irrecoverable. These people tell us nothing of the eternal reproaches of consciences, the horror of desperation, and the anguish of a mind hopeless of ever seeing the glory, which alone constitutes heaven, and which makes all other places dreadful, and even darkness itself.

And this brings me directly to the point in hand, viz., the state of that hell we ought to have in view when we speak of the Devil as in hell. This is the very hell which is the torment of the Devil. In short, the Devil is in hell, and hell is in the Devil; he is filled with this unquenchable fire; he is expelled the place of glory, banished from the regions of light; absence from the life of all beatitude is his curse; despair is the reigning passion in his mind, and the little constituent parts of his torment, such as rage, envy, malice, and jealousy, are consolidated in this, to make his misery complete, viz., duration of it all; the eternity of his condition; that he is without hope, without redemption, without recovery.

If anything can inflame this hell, and make it hotter,

it is this only; and this does add an inexpressible horror to the Devil himself; namely, the seeing man (the only creature he hates) placed in a state of recovery, a glorious state of redemption formed for him in heaven, and the scheme of it perfected on earth; by which this man, though even the Devil by his art may have deluded him, and drawn him into crime, is yet in a state of recovery, which the Devil is not, and that it is not in his (Satan's) power to prevent it. Now, take the Devil as he is in his own nature, angelic, a bright immortal seraph, heaven born, and having tasted the eternal beatitude, which these are appointed to enjoy; the loss of that state to himself, the possession of it granted to his rival, though wicked like himself; I say, take the Devil as he is, having a quick sense of his perdition, and a stinging sense of his rival's felicity, it is hell enough, and more than enough, for an angel to support; nothing we can conceive can be worse.

As to any other fire than this, such, and so immaterially intense, as to torment a spirit, which is itself fire also, I will not say it cannot be, because to God everything is possible; but I must say, I cannot conceive rightly of it.

I will not enter here into the wisdom or reasonableness of representing torments of hell to be fire, and that fire to be a commixture of flame and sulphur. It has pleased God to let the horror of those eternal agonies about a lost heaven be laid before us by those similitudes or allegories, which are most moving to our senses and to our understandings; nor will I dispute the possibility, much less will I doubt but that there is to be a consummation of misery, to all objects of misery, when the Devil's kingdom in this world, ending with the world itself, that liberty he has now may be farther abridged; when he may be turned to the same state he was in between the time of his fall and the creation of the world, with, perhaps, some additional vengeance on him, such as at present we cannot describe, for all that treason, and those high crimes and misdemeanors, which

he has been guilty of here in his conversation with mankind.

As his infelicity will then be consummated and completed, so the infelicity of that part of mankind who are condemned with him, may receive a considerable addition from these words in their sentence, "to be tormented with the Devil and his angels;" for as the absence of the supreme God is a complete hell, so the hated company of the deceiver, who was the great cause of their ruin, must be a subject of additional horror, and they will always be saying, as a Scotch gentleman, who died of his excesses, said to the famous Dr. P——, who came to see him on his death bed, but had been too much his companion in life,

O tu fundamenta jecisti.

I would not treat the very subject itself with any indecency, nor do I think my opinion of that hell, which I say consists in the absence of him in whom is heaven, one jot less solemn than theirs who believe it all fire and brimstone; but I must own, that to me nothing can be more ridiculous than the notions that we entertain and fill our heads with about hell, and about the devils being there tormenting of souls, broiling them upon gridirons, hanging them upon hooks, carrying them upon their backs, and the like; with the several pictures of hell, represented by a great mouth with horrible teeth, gaping like a cave on the side of a mountain; suppose that appropriated to Satan in the peak, which, indeed, is not much unlike it, with a stream of fire coming out of it, as there is of water, and smaller devils going and coming continually in and out, to fetch and carry souls the Lord knows whither, and for the Lord knows what.

These things, however, intended for terror, are indeed so ridiculous, that the Devil himself to be sure mocks at them; and a man of sense can hardly refrain doing the like, only I avoid it because I would not give offence to weaker heads.

However, I must not compliment the brains of other men at the expense of my own, or talk nonsense because they understand no other. I think all these notions and representations of hell and of the Devil to be as profane as they are ridiculous, and I ought no more to talk profanely than merrily of them.

Let us learn to talk of these things, then, as we should do; and as we really cannot describe them to our reason and understanding, why should we describe them to our senses? we had, I think, much better not describe them at all, that is to say, not attempt it. The blessed apostle, St. Paul, was, as he said himself, carried up, or caught up, into the third heaven; yet, when he came down again, he could neither tell what he heard, or describe what he saw; all he could say of it was, that what he heard was unutterable, and what he saw was inconceivable.

It is the same thing as to the state of the Devil, in those regions which he now possesses, and where he now more particularly inhabits. My present business, then, is, not to enter into those grave things so as to make them ridiculous, as I think most people do that talk of them; but as the Devil, let his residence be where it will, has evidently free leave to come and go, not into this world only (I mean the region of our atmosphere), but, for aught we know, to all the other inhabited worlds which God has made, wherever they are, and by whatsoever names they are or may be known or distinguished; for if he is not confined in one place, we have no reason to believe he is excluded from any place, heaven only excepted, from whence he was expelled for his treason and rebellion.

His liberty being then thus ascertained, three things seem to be material for us to give an account of, in order to form this part of his history.

1. What his business is on this globe of earth, which we vulgarly call the world; how he acts among us; what affairs mankind and he have together; and

how far his conduct here relates to us, and ours is, or may be, influenced by him.

2. Where his principal residence is; and whether he has not a particular empire of his own, to which he retreats upon proper occasions; where he entertains his friends when they come under his particular administrations; and where, when he gets any victory over his enemies, he carries his prisoners of war?
3. What may probably be the great business this black emperor has at present upon his hands, either in this world or out of it; and by what agents he works?

As these things may, perhaps, run promiscuously through the course of the whole work, and frequently be touched at under other branches of the Devil's history, so I do not propose them as heads of chapters, or particular sections, for the order of discourse to be handled apart; for (by the way) as Satan's actings have not been the most regular things in the world, so, in our discourse about him, it must not be expected that we can always tie ourselves down to order and regularity, either as to time, or place, or person; for Satan being *hic et ubique*, a loose ungoverned fellow, we must be content to trace him where we can find him.

It is true, in the foregoing chapter, I showed you the Devil entered into the herd ecclesiastic, and gave you some account of the first successful step he took with mankind since the Christian epocha; how having secretly managed both temporal and spiritual power apart and by themselves, he now united them in point of management, and brought the church usurpation and the army's usurpation together; the pope to bless the general in deposing and murdering his master the emperor, and the general to recognise the pope in dethroning his master Jesus Christ.

From this time forward you are to allow the Devil a mystical empire in this world; not an action of moment

done without him, not a treason but he has a hand in it, not a tyrant but he prompts him, not a government but he has a ——— in it, not a fool but he tickles him, not a knave but he guides him; he has a finger in every fraud, a key to every cabinet, from the Divan at Constantinople to the Mississippi in France, and to the South Sea cheat, at ———; from the first attack upon the Christian world, in the person of the Roman Anti-Christ down to the Bull Unigenitus; and from the mixture of St. Peter and Confucius to China, to the holy office in Spain; and down to the Emlins Dodwells of the current age.

How he has managed and does manage, and how in all probability he will manage, till his kingdom shall come to a period, and how at last he will probably be managed himself, inquire within, and you shall know farther.

CHAPTER III.

Of the manner of Satan's acting and carrying on his affairs in this world, and particularly of his ordinary workings in the dark, by possession and agitation.

The Devil being thus reduced to act upon mankind by stratagem only, it remains to inquire how he performs, and which way he directs his attacks. The faculties of man are a kind of garrison in a strong castle, which as they defend it on the one hand under the command of the reasoning power of man's soul, so they are prescribed on the other hand, and cannot sally out without leave; for the governor of a fort does not permit his soldiers to hold any correspondence with the enemy, without special order and direction. Now the great inquiry before us is, how comes the Devil to a parley with us? How does he converse with our senses, and with our understanding? How does he reach us? Which way does he come at the affections, and which

way does he move the passions? It is a little difficult to discover this treasonable correspondence, and that difficulty is, indeed, the Devil's advantage he has over mankind.

It is also a great inquiry here, whether the Devil knows our thoughts or not? If I may give my opinion, I am with the negative; I deny that he knows anything of our thoughts, except of those which he put us upon thinking; for I will not doubt but he has the art to inject thoughts, and to revive dormant thoughts in us. It is not so wild a thought as some take it to be, that Mr. Milton lays down to represent the Devil injecting corrupt desires and wandering thoughts into the head of Eve, by dreams and that he brought her to dream whatever he put into her thoughts, by whispering to her vocally when she was asleep; and to this end he imagines the Devil laying himself close to her ear, in the shape of a toad, when she was fast asleep. I say this is not so wild a scheme, seeing even now, if you can whisper anything close to the ear of a person in a deep sleep, so as to speak distinctly to the person, and yet not awaken him, as has been frequently tried, the person sleeping shall dream distinctly of what you say to him, nay, shall dream the very words you say.

We then have no more to ask, but how the Devil can convey himself to the ear of a sleeping person? and it is granted them, that he may have power to make us dream what he pleases. But this is not all, for if he can so forcibly, by his invisible application, cause us to dream what he pleases, why can he not, with the same facility, prompt our thoughts, whether sleeping or waking? To dream, is nothing else but to think sleeping; and we have abundance of deep-headed gentlemen among us, who give us ample testimony that they dream waking.

But if the Devil can prompt us to dream, that is to say, to think, yet if he does not know our thoughts, how then can he tell whether the whisper had its effect? The answer is plain; the Devil, like the angler, baits

the hook; if the fish bite, he lies ready to take the advantage; he whispers to the imagination, and then waits to see how it works; as Naomi said to Ruth, chap. iii. v. 18, "Sit still my daughter, until you know how the matter will fall; for the man will not be at rest until he have finished the thing." Thus, when the Devil had whispered to Eve in her sleep, according to Milton, and suggested mischief to her imagination, he only sat still to see how the matter would work; for he knew if it took with her he should hear more of it; and then, by finding her alone the next day, without her ordinary guard, her husband, he presently concluded she had swallowed the bait; and so attacked her afresh.

A small deal of craft, and less by far than we have reason to believe the Devil is master of, will serve to discover whether such and such thoughts as he knows he has suggested, have taken place or not; the action of the person presently discovers it, at least to him that lies always upon the watch, and has every word, every gesture, every step we take subsequent to his operation, open to him. It may, therefore, for aught we know, be a great mistake, and what most of us are guilty of, to tell our dreams to one another in the morning, after we have been disturbed with them in the night; for if the Devil converses with us so sensibly, as some are of opinion he does, that is to say, if he can hear as well as we can see, we may be telling our story to him indeed, when we think we are only talking to one another.

This brings me more naturally to the important inquiry, whether the Devil can walk about the world invisibly or not? The truth is, that this is no question to me; for as I have taken away his visibility already, and denied him all prescience of futurity too, and have proved he cannot know our thoughts, nor put any force upon persons or actions; if we should take away his invisibility too, we should undevil him quite, to all intents and purposes, as to any mischief he could do? nay, it would banish him the world, and he might even go and seek his fortune somewhere else; for if he

could neither be visible nor invisible, neither act in public nor in private, he could neither have business or being in his sphere, nor could we be any way concerned with him.

The Devil, therefore, most certainly has a power and liberty of moving about in this world, after some manner or another; this is verified as well by the way of allegory, as by way of history, in the Scriptures itself; and as the first strongly suggests and supposes it to be so, the last postively asserts it; and, not to crowd this work with quotations from a book which we have not much to do with in the Devil's story, at least not much to his satisfaction, I only hint his personal appearance to our Saviour in the wilderness, where it is said, "the Devil taketh him up to an exceeding high mountain;" and in another place, "the Devil departed from him." What shape or figure he appeared in we do not find mentioned; but I cannot doubt his appearing to him there, any more than I can his talking to our Saviour in the mouths and with the voices of the several persons who were under the terrible affliction of an actual possession.

These things leave us no room to doubt of what is advanced above, namely, that he (the Devil) has a certain residence, or liberty of residing in, and moving about upon, the surface of this earth, as well as in the compass of the atmosphere, vulgarly called the air, in some manner or other; that is the general.

It remains to inquire into the manner, which I resolve into two kinds:—

1. Ordinary, which I suppose to be his invisible motions as a spirit; under which consideration I suppose him to have an unconfined, unlimited, unrestrained liberty, as to the manner of acting; and this either in persons, by possession, or in things, by agitation.
2. Extraordinary, which I understand to be his appearances in borrowed shapes and bodies or shadows,

rather, of bodies; assuming speech, figure, posture, and several powers of which we can give little or no account of; in which extraordinary manner of appearances, he is either limited by a superior power, or limits himself politically, as being not the way most for his interest or purpose, to act in his business, which is more effectually done in his state of obscurity.

Hence we may suppose the Devil has it very much in his own choice, whether to act in one capacity or in the other, or in both; that is to say, of appearing or not appearing, as he finds for his purpose; in this state of invisibility, and under the operation of these powers and liberties, he performs all his functions and offices, as Devil, as prince of darkness, as god of this world, as tempter, accuser, deceiver, and all whatsoever other names of office, or titles of honour, he is known by.

Now, taking him in this large unlimited, or little limited state of action, he is well called, the god of this world; for he has very much of the attributes of omnipresence, and may be said, either by himself or his agents, to be everywhere, and see everything; that is to say, everything that is visible, for I cannot allow him any share of omniscience at all.

That he ranges about everywhere, is with us, and sometimes in us; sees when he is not seen, hears when he is not heard, comes in without leave, and goes out without noise; is neither to be shut in nor shut out; that when he runs from us we cannot catch him; and when he runs after us we cannot escape him; is seen when he is not known, and is known when he is not seen; all these things, and more, we have knowledge enough about, to convince us of the truth of them, so that, as I have said above, he is certainly walking to and fro through the earth, &c., after some manner or other, and in some figure or other, visible or invisible, as he finds occasion. Now, in order to make our history of him complete, the next question before us is, how,

and in what manner he acts with mankind? How his kingdom is carried on; and by what methods he does his business! for he certainly has a great deal of business to do; he is not an idle spectator, nor is he walking about *incognito*, and clothed in mist and darkness, purely in kindness to us, that we should not be frightened at him; but it is in policy that he may act undiscovered, that he may see and not be seen; may play his game in the dark, and not be detected in his roguery; that he may prompt mischief, raise tempests, blow up coals, kindle strife, embroil nations, use instruments, and not be known to have his hand in anything, when, at the same time, he really has a hand in everything.

Some are of opinion, and I among the rest, that if the Devil was personally and visibly present among us, and we conversed with him face to face, we should be so familiar with him in a little time, that his ugly figure would not affect us at all; that his terrors would not fright us; or that we should any more trouble ourselves about him, than we did with the great comet of 1678, which appeared so long and so constantly, without any particular known event, that at last we took no more notice of it than of the other ordinary stars which had appeared before we or our ancestors were born.

Nor, indeed, should we have much reason to be frightened at him, or at least none of those silly things could be said of him which we now amuse ourselves about, and by which we set him up, like a scare-crow, to frighten children and old women, to fill up old stories, make songs and ballads, and, in a word, carry on the low-prized buffoonery of the common people; we should either see him in his angelic form, as he was from the original, or, if he has any deformities entailed upon him by the supreme sentence, and in justice to the deformity of his crime, they would be of a superior nature, and fitted more for our contempt, as well as horror, than those weak and fancied trifles contrived by our ancient devil-raisers and devil-makers, to feed the wayward fancies of old witches and sorcerors,

who cheated the ignorant world with a devil of their own making, set forth *in terrorum*, with bat's wings, horns, cloven feet, long tail, forked tongue, and the like.

In the next place, be his frightful figure what it would, and his legions as numerous as the host of heaven, we should see him still, as the prince of devils, though monstrous as a dragon, flaming as a comet, tall as a mountain, yet dragging his chain after him equal to the utmost of his supposed strength, always in custody of his jailers the angels, his power overpowered, his rage cowed and abated, or at least awed, and under correction, limited and restrained; in a word, we should see him a vanquished slave, his spirit broken, his malice, though not abated, yet hand-cuffed and overpowered, and he not able to work anything against us by force; so that he would be to us but like the lions in the Tower, encaged and locked up, unable to do the hurt he wishes to do, and that we fear, or indeed, any hurt at all.

From hence, it is evident that it is not his business to be public, or to walk up and down in the world visibly, and in his own shape; his affairs require different management, as might be made apparent from the nature of things, and the manner of our actings, as men either with ourselves, or to one another.

Nor could he be serviceable in his generation, as a public person, as he now is, or answer the end of his party who employ him, and who, if he was to do their business in public as he does in private, would not be able to employ him at all.

As, in our modern meetings for the propagation of impudence and other virtues, there would be no entertainment, and no improvement for the good of the age, if the people did not all appear in masque, and concealed from the common observation, so neither could Satan (from whose management those more happy assemblies are taken, as copies of a glorious original) perform the usual and necessary business of his profes-

sion, if he did not appear wholly in covert, and under needful disguises. How but for the convenience of his habit could he cast himself into so many shapes, act on so many different scenes, and turn so many wheels of state in the world, as he has done? As a mere professed Devil, he could do nothing.

Had he been always obliged to act the mere Devil in his own clothes, and with his own shape, appearing uppermost in all cases and places, he could never have preached in so many pulpits, presided in so many councils, voted in so many committees, sat in so many courts, and influenced so many parties and factions in church and state, as we have reason to believe he has done in our nation, and in our memories too, as well as in other nations, and in more ancient times. The share Satan has had in all the weighty confusions of the times, ever since the first ages of Christianity in the world, has been carried on with so much secrecy, and so much with an air of cabal and intrigue, that nothing can have been managed more subtilly and closely; and in the same manner has he acted in our times, in order to conceal his interests, and the influence he has had in the councils of the world.

Had it been possible for him to have raised the flames of rebellion and war so often in this nation, as he certainly has done, Could he have agitated the parties on both sides, and inflamed the spirits of three nations, if he had appeared in his own dress, a mere naked Devil? It is not the Devil as a devil that does the mischief, but the Devil in masquerade; Satan in full disguise, and acting at the head of civil confusion and distraction.

If history may be credited, the French court, at the time of our old confusions, was made the scene of Satan's politics, and prompted both parties in England, and in Scotland also, to quarrel; and how was it done? Will any man offer to scandalise the Devil so much as to say, or so much as to suggest, that Satan had no hand in it at all? Did not the Devil, by the agency of Car-

dinal Richelieu, send four hundred thousand crowns at one time, and six hundred thousand at another, to the Scots, to raise an army, and march boldly into England? and did not the same Devil, at the same time, by other agents, remit eight hundred thousand crowns to the other party, in order to raise an army to fall upon the Scots? Nay, did not the Devil, with the same subtilty, send down the archbishop's order to impose the service-book upon the people of Scotland, and, at the same time, raise a mob against it in the great church (at St. Giles's)? Nay, did he not actually, in the person of an old woman, (his favourite instrument,) throw the three-legged stool at the service-book, and animate the zealous people to take up arms for religion, and turn rebels for God's sake?

All these happy and successful undertakings, though it is no more to be doubted, they were done by the agency of Satan, and in a very surprising manner too, yet were all done in secret, by what I call possession and injection, and by the agency and contrivance of such instruments, or by the Devil in the disguise, or such persons as he found out fit to be employed in his work, and whom he took a more effectual care in concealing of. But we shall have occasion to touch all this part over again when we come to discourse of the particular habits and disguises which the Devil has made use of all along in the world, the better to cover his actions, and to conceal his being concerned in them.

In the meantime, the cunning or artifice the Devil makes use of in all these things is in itself very considerable; it is an old practice of using, and he has gone on in divers measures, for the better concealing himself in it; which measures, though he varies sometimes, and his extraordinary affairs require, yet they are in all ages much the same, and have the same tendency, namely, that he may get all his business carried on by the instrumentality of fools; that he may make mankind agents in their own destruction; and that he may have all his work done in such a manner as that he

may seem to have no hand in it; nay, he contrives so well, that the very name, Devil, is put upon his opposite party, and the scandal of the black agent lies all upon them.

In order, then, to look a little into his conduct. let us inquire into the common mistakes about him, see what use is made of them to his advantage, and how far mankind is imposed upon in those particulars, and to what purpose.

CHAPTER IV.

Of Satan's agents or missionaries, and their acting upon and in the minds of men, in his name.

Infinite advantages attend the Devil in his retired government, as they respect the management of his interest, and the carrying on his absolute monarchy in this world, particularly as it gives him room to act by the agency of his inferior ministers and messengers, called on many occasions his angels, of whom he has an innumerable multitude at his command, enough, for aught we know, to spare one to attend every man and woman now alive in the world; and of whom, if we may believe our second-sight Christians, the air is always as full as a beam of the evening sun is of insects, where they are ever ready for business, and to go and come as their great governor issues out his directions. These, as they are all of the same spirituous quality with himself, and, consequently, invisible like him, except as above, are ready upon all occasions to be sent to, and into any such person, and for such purposes, superior limitations only excepted, as the grand director of devils (the Devil properly so called) guides them; and be the subject or object what it will, that is to say, be the person they are sent to or into, as above, who it will, and the business the messenger is to do what it will, they are sufficiently

qualified; for this is particular to Satan's messengers or agents, that they are not like us human devils here in the world, some bred up one way and some another, some of one trade, some of another, and consequently, some fit for one business, some for another, some good for something, and some good for nothing; but his people are every one fit for everything, can find their way everywhere, and are a match for everybody they are set to; in a word, there are no foolish devils, they are all fully qualified for their employment, fit for anything he sets them about, and very seldom mistake their errand, or fail in the business they are sent to do.

Nor is it strange at all that the Devil should have such a numerous train of deputy devils to act under him, for it must be acknowledged he has a great deal of business upon his hands, a vast deal of work to do, abundance of public affairs under his direction, and an infinite variety of particular cases always before him. For example—

How many governments in the world are wholly in his administration! How many divans and great councils under his direction! Nay, I believe it would be hard to prove that there is, or has been, one council of state in the world, for many hundred years past, down to the year ——, (we do not pretend to come nearer home,) where the Devil, by himself or his agents, in one shape or another, has not sat as a member, if not taken the chair.

And though some learned authors may dispute this point with me, by some examples, where the councils of princes have been actuated by a better hand, and where things have been carried against Satan's interest, and even to his great mortification, it amounts to no more than this, namely, that in such cases the Devil has been outvoted; but he does not argue but he might have been present there, and have pushed his interest as far as he could, only that he had not the success he expected; for I do not pretend to say that he has never been disappointed; but those examples are

so rare, and of so small signification, that when I come to the particulars, as I shall do in the sequel of this history, you will find them hardly worth naming, and that, take it one time with another, the Devil has met with such a series of success in all his affairs, and has so seldom been baulked; and where he has met with a little check in his politics, has, notwithstanding, so soon and so easily recovered himself, regained his lost ground, or placed himself in another country when he has been supplanted in one, that his empire is far from being lessened in the world for the last thousand years of the Christian establishment.

Suppose we take an observation from the beginning of Luther, or from the year 1420, and call the reformation a blow to the Devil's kingdom, which before that was come to such an height in Christendom, that it is a question not yet thoroughly decided, whether that medley of superstition and horrible heresies, that mass of enthusiasm and idols, called the Catholic hierarchy, was a church of God or a church of the Devil; whether it was an assembly of saints, or a synagogue of Satan; I say, take that time to be the epocha of Satan's declension, and of Lucifer's falling from heaven, that is, from the top of his terrestrial glory, yet, whether he did not gain in the defection of the Greek church, about that time and since, as much as he had lost in the reformation of the Roman, is what authors are not yet agreed about, not reckoning what he has regained since of the ground which he had lost, even by the reformation, viz., the countries of the Duke of Savoy's dominion, whether the reformation is almost eaten out by persecution; the whole Valtoline, and some adjacent countries; the whole kingdom of Poland, and almost all Hungary; for since the last war, the reformation, as it were, lies gasping for breath, and expiring, in that country; also, several large provinces in Germany, as Austria, Carinthia, and the whole kingdom of Bohemia, where the reformation, once powerfully planted, received its death wound at the battle of Prague, anno 1027, and languished but a

very little while, died, and was buried, and good king Popery reigned in its stead.

To these countries, thus gained to Satan's infernal empire, let us add his modern conquests, and the encroachments he has made upon the reformation in the present age, which are, however light we make of them, very considerable, viz., the electorate of the Rhine, and the Palatinate; the one fallen to the house of Bavaria, and the other to that of Newburgh, both Popish; the duchy of Deux Ponts, fallen just now to a Popish branch; the whole electorate of Saxony, fallen under the power of Popish government by the apostacy of their princes, and more likely to follow the fate of Bohemia, whenever the diligent Devil can bring his new project in Poland to bear, as it is more than probable he will do sometime or other, by the growing zeal, as well as power, of that house of bigots, the house of A——.

But, to sum up the dull story, we must add, in the roll of the Devil's conquests, the whole kingdom of France, where we have in one year seen, to the immortal glory of the Devil's politics, that his measures have prevailed, to the total extirpation of the Protestant churches, without a war; and that interest, which for two hundred years had supported itself in spite of persecutions, massacres, five civil wars, and innumerable battles and slaughters, at last received its mortal wound from its own champion, Henry IV., and sunk into utter oblivion, by Satan's most exquisite management, under the agency of his two prime ministers, Cardinal Richelieu and Louis the XIV., whom he entirely possessed

Thus far we have a melancholy view of the Devil's new conquests, and the ground he has regained upon the reformation; in which his secret management has been so exquisite, and his politics so good, that could he but bring one thing to pass, which by his own former mistake (for the Devil is not infallible) he has rendered impossible, he would bring the Protestant interest so

near its ruin, that heaven would be, as it were, put to the necessity of working by miracle to prevent it. The case is thus :—

Ancient historians tell us, and from good authority, that the Devil finding it for his interest to bring his favourite Mahomet upon the stage, and spread the victorious half-moon upon the ruin of the cross, having, with great success, raised first the Saracen empire, and then the Turkish, to such a height, as that the name of Christian seemed to be extirpated in those two quarters of the world, which were then not the greatest only, but by far the most powerful; I mean Asia and Africa; having totally laid waste all those ancient and flourishing churches of Africa, the labours of St. Cyprian, Tertullian, St. Augustine, and six hundred and seventy Christian bishops and fathers, who governed there at once; also, all the churches of Smyrna, Philadelphia, Ephesus, Sardis, Antioch, Laodicea, and innumerable others in Pontus, Bythinia, and the provinces of the Lesser Asia.

The Devil having, I say, finished these conquests so much to his satisfaction, began to turn his eyes northward, and though he had a considerable interest in the whore of Babylon, and had brought his power by the subjection of the Roman hierarchy, to a great height, yet finding the interest of Mahomet most suitable to his devilish purposes, as most adapted to the destruction of mankind, and laying waste the world, he resolved to espouse the growing power of the Turks, and bring him in upon Europe like a deluge.

In order to this, and to make way for an easy conquest, like a true Devil, he worked under ground, and sapped the foundation of the Christian power, by sowing discord among the reigning princes of Europe, that, so envying one another, they might be content to stand still and look on, while the Turk devoured them one by one, and, at last, might swallow them all up.

This devilish policy took to his heart's content; the Christian princes stood still, stupid, dozing, and unconcerned, till the Turk conquered Thrace, overrun

Servia, Macedonia, Bulgaria, and all the remains of the Grecian empire, and, at last, the imperial city of Constantinople itself.

Finding this politic method so well to answer his end, the Devil, who always improves upon the success of his own experiments, resolved, from that time to lay a foundation for the making those divisions and jealousies of the Christian princes immortal, whereas they were at first only personal, and founded in private quarrels between the princes respectively, such as emulation of one another's glory, envy at the extraordinary valour, or other merit, of this or that leader, or revenge of some little affront, for which, notwithstanding, so great was the piety of Christian princes in those days, that they made no scruple to sacrifice whole armies, yea, nations, to their piques and private quarrels, a certain sign whose management they were under.

These being the causes by which the Devil first sowed the seeds of mischief among them, and the success so well answering his design, he could not but wish to have the same advantage always ready at his hand, and therefore, he resolved to order it so that these divisions, which, however useful to him, were only personal, and consequently temporary, like an annual in a garden, which must be raised anew every season, might for the future be rational, and consequently, durable and immortal.

To this end, it was necessary to lay the foundation of eternal feud, not in the humours and passions of men only, but in the interest of nations; the way to do this was, to form and state the dominion of those princes, by such a plan drawn in hell, and laid out from a scheme truly political, of which the Devil was chief engineer; that the division should always remain, being made a natural consequence of the situation of the country, the temper of the people, the nature of the commerce, the climate, the manner of living, or something which should for ever render it impossible for them to unite.

This, I say, was a scheme truly infernal, in which the

Devil was as certainly the principal operator, to illustrate great things by small, as ever John of Leyden was of the high-Dutch rebellion, or Sir John B——t of the late project called the South-Sea stock. Nor did this contrivance of the Devil at all dishonour its author, or the success appear unworthy of the undertaker, for we see it not only answered the end, and made the Turk victorious at the same time, and formidable to Europe ever after, but it works to this day; the foundations of the divisions remain in all the several nations, and that to such a degree, that it is impossible they should unite.

This is what I hinted before, in which the Devil was mistaken, and is another instance that he knows nothing of what is to come, for this very foundation of immortal jealousy and discord between the several nations of Spain, France, Germany, and others, which the Devil himself, with so much policy contrived, and which served his interests so long, is now the only obstruction to his designs, and prevents the entire ruin of the reformation; for though the reformed countries are very powerful, and some of them, as Great Britain and Prussia are particularly, more powerful than ever, yet it cannot be said that the Protestant interests in general are stronger than formerly, or so strong as they were in 1623, under the victorious arms of the Swede. On the other hand, were it possible that the Popish powers, to wit, of France, Spain, Germany, Italy, and Poland, which are entirely Popish, could heartily unite their interests, and should join their powers to attack the Protestants, the latter would find it very difficult, if not impossible, to defend themselves.

But as fatal as an union of the Popish powers would be, and as useful as it would be to the Devil's cause at this time, not the Devil, with all his angels, is able to bring it to pass; no, not with all his craft and cunning; he divided them, but he cannot unite them; so that, even just as it is with men, so it is with devils, they may do in an hour what they cannot undo in an age.

This may comfort those faint-hearted Christians among us who cry out of the danger of religious war in Europe, and what terrible things will happen when France and Spain, and Germany, and Italy, and Poland, shall all unite. Let this answer satisfy them, the Devil himself can never make France and Spain, or France and the emperor, unite. Jarring humours may be reconciled, but jarring interests never can; they may unite so far as to make peace, though that can hardly be long, but never so as to make conquests together; they are too much afraid of one another for one to bear that any addition of strength should come to the other. But this is a digression. We shall find the Devil mistaken, and disappointed too, on several occasions, as we go along.

I return to Satan's interest in the several governments and nations, by virtue of his invisibility, and which he carries on by possession. It is by his invisibility that he presides in all the councils of foreign powers, (for we never mean our own, that we always premise); and what though it is alleged by the critics that he does not preside, because there is always a president; I say, if he is not in the president's chair, yet, if he be the president himself, the difference is not much; and if he does not vote as a counsellor, if he votes in the council it is much the same; and here, as it was in the story of Ahab, the king of Israel, as he was a lying spirit in the mouths of all his prophets, so we find him a spirit of some particular evil quality or other, in all the transactions and transactors on that stage of life we call the state.

Thus he was a dissembling spirit in Charles IX.; a turbulent spirit in Charles V., emperor; a bigoted spirit of fire and faggot in our queen Mary; an apostate spirit in Henry IV.; a cruel spirit in Peter of Castile; a revengeful spirit in Ferdinand II.; a phæton in Louis XIV.; a Sardanapalus in Charles II.

In the great men of the world, take them a degree lower than the crowned heads, he has the same secret influence; and hence it comes to pass, that the greatest

heroes, and men of the highest character for achievements of glory, either by their virtue or valour, however they have been crowned with victories, and elevated by human tongues, whatever the most consummate virtues or good qualities they have been known by, yet they have always had some devil or other in them, to preserve Satan's claim to them uninterrupted, and prevent their escape out of his hands. Thus we have seen a bloody devil in D'Alva; a profligate devil in a Buckingham; a lying, artful, or politic devil in a Richelieu; a treacherous devil in a Mazarin; a cruel merciless devil in a Cortes; a debauched devil in an Eugene; a conjuring devil in a Luxemburgh, and a covetous devil in a M——h. In a word, tell me the man, and I will tell you the spirit that reigned in him.

Nor does he thus carry on his secret management by possession in men of the first magnitude only; but have you not had evidences of it among ourselves? How has he been a lying spirit in the mouths of our prophets; a fictitious spirit in the heads of our politicians; a profuse devil in a B——s; a corrupt devil in M——; a proud spirit in my Lord Plausible; a bullying spirit in my Lord Bugbear; a talkative spirit in his Grace the D—— of Rattle-hall; a scribbling spirit in my Lord H——; a runaway spirit in my Lord Frightful; and so through a long roll of heroes, whose exceeding and particular qualifications proclaim loudly what handle the Devil took them by, and how fast he held them! these were all, too, men of ancient fame; I hope you know that.

From the men of figure we descend to the mob, and it is there the same thing. Possession, like the plague, is *morbus plebæi;* not a family but he is a spirit of strife and contention among them; not a man but he has a part in him; he is a drunken devil in one, a whoring devil in another, a thieving devil in a third, a lying devil in the fourth, and so on to a thousand, and a hundred thousand, *ad infinitum*.

Nay, even the ladies have their share in the possession; and if they have not the Devil in their heads, or in their tails, in their face, or in their tongues, it must be some poor despicable she-devil that Satan did not think it worth his while to meddle with; and the number of those that are below his operation I doubt is very small. But that part I have much more to say to in its place.

From degrees of persons, to professions and employments, it is the same. We find the Devil is a true posture-master; he assumes any dress, appears in any shape, counterfeits every voice, acts upon every stage; here he wears a gown, there a long robe; here he wears the jack-boots, there the small sword; is here an enthusiast, there a buffoon; on this side he acts the mountebank, on that side the merry-Andrew; nothing comes amiss to him, from the Great Mogul to the Scaramouch; the Devil is in them, more or less, and plays his game so well, that he makes sure with them all. He knows where the common foible lies, which is his universal passion, what handle to take hold of every man by, and how to cultivate his interest, so as not to fail of his end or mistake the means.

How then can it be denied but that his acting thus in *tenebris*, and keeping out of the sight of the world, is abundantly his interest, and that he could do nothing, comparatively speaking, by any other method.

What would his public appearance have signified? Who would have entertained him in his own proper shape and person? Even B—— B—— himself, though all the world knows he had a foolish devil in him, would not have been fool enough to have taken him into his service if he had known him; and my Lord Simpleton, also, whom Satan has set up for a cunning fool, seems to have it fit much better upon him, how he passes for a fool of art, than it should have done, if the naked Devil had come and challenged him for a fool in nature.

Infinite variety illustrates the Devil's reign among

the sons of men, all which he manages with admirable dexterity and slight particular to himself, by the mere advantage of his present concealed situation, and which, had he been obliged to have appeared in public, had been all lost, and he capable of just nothing at all, or at least of nothing more than the other ordinary politicians of wickedness could have done without him.

Now authors are much divided as to the manner how the Devil manages his proper instruments for mischief, for Satan has a great many agents in the dark who neither have the Devil in them, nor are they much acquainted with him, and yet he serves himself of them; whether of their folly, or of that other frailty called wit, it is all one; he makes them do his work, when they think they are doing their own; nay, so cunning is he in guiding the weak part of the world, that even when they think they are serving God, they are doing nothing less or more than serving the Devil; nay, it is some of the nicest part of his operation, to make them believe they are serving God, when they are doing his work. Thus those, whom the Scripture foretold should persecute Christ's church in the latter days, were to think they do God good service, Thus, the Inquisition, (for example) it may be, at this time, in all the acts of Christian cruelty, which they are so famous for (if any of them are ignorant enough not to know that they are devils incarnate), may, for aught we know, go on for God's sake, torture, murder, starve to death, mangle, and macerate, and all for God and God's Catholic church; and it is certainly the Devil's master-piece to bring mankind to such a perfection of devilism as that of the Inquisition is, for if the Devil had not been in them, could they christen such a hell-fire judicature as the Inquisition is, by the name of the holy office? And so in paganism, how could so many nations among the poor Indians offer human sacrifices to their idols, and murder thousands of men, women, and children, to appease this god of air when he is angry, if the Devil did not act in them under the vizor of devotion?

But we need not go to America, or the Inquisition, nor to paganism, or to popery either, to look for people that are sacrificing to the Devil, or to give their peace-offerings to him, while they are offered upon God's altar. Are not our churches (aye, and meeting-houses too, as much as they pretend to be more sanctified than their neighbours) full of devil worshippers? Where do his devotees gratulate one another, and congratulate him, more than at church? Where, while they hold up their hands, and turn up their eyes towards heaven, they make all their vows to Satan, or at least to the fair devils, his representatives, which I shall speak of in their place?

Do not the sons of God make assignations with the daughters of men in the very houses of worship? Do they not talk to them in the language of the eyes? And what is at the bottom of it? While the one eye is upon the prayer-book, and the other adjusting their dress, are they not sacrificing to Venus and Mercury; nay, and the very devil they dress at?

Let any man impartially survey the church-gestures, the air, the postures, and the behaviour; let him keep an exact roll, and if I do not show him two devil-worshippers for one true saint, then the word saint must have another signification than ever I understood it by.

The church (as a place) is the receptacle of the dead as well as the assembly of the living. What relates to those below, I doubt not Satan, if he would be so kind, could give a better account of than I can; but as to the superficies, I pretend to so much penetration as to tell you, that there are more spectres, more apparitions always there, than you that know nothing of the matter can be aware of.

I happened to be at an eminent place of God's most devout worship the other day, with a gentleman of my acquaintance, who, I observed, minded very little the business he ought to come about. First, I saw him always busy staring about him, and bowing this way and that way; nay, he made two or three bows and scrapes

when he was repeating the responses to the ten commandments; and I assure you he made it correspond strangely, so that the harmony was not so broken in upon as you would expect it should—thus: "Lord"—and a bow to a fine lady just come up to her seat—"have mercy upon us,"—three bows to a throng of ladies that came into the next pew altogether—"and incline"—then stopped to make a great scrape to my Lord —— "our hearts"—just then the hearts of all the church were gone off from the subject, for the response was over; so he huddled up the rest in whispers, for God Almighty could hear him well enough, he said, nay, as well as if he had spoken as loud as his neighbours did.

After we were come home, I asked him what he meant by all this, and what he thought of it?

"How could I help it?" said he, "I must not be rude."

"What," said I, "rude to whom?"

"There came in," said he, "so many she-devils, I could not help it!"

"What!" said I, "could not help bowing when you were saying your prayers?"

"O, sir," said he, "the ladies would have thought I had slighted them; I could not avoid it."

"Ladies!" said I, "I thought you called them devils just now?"

"Aye, aye, devils," said he, "little charming devils; but I must not be rude to them, however."

"Very well," said I, "then you would be rude to God Almighty, because you could not be rude to the Devil?"

"Why, that's true," said he, "but what can we do, if we must not worship the Devil a little between whiles?"

This is the case indeed, and Satan carries his point on every hand; for if the fair-speaking world, and the fair-looking world, are generally devils, that is to say, are in his management, we are sure the foul-speaking and foul-doing world are all on his side, and you have then only the fair-doing part of the world that are out of his class: and when we speak of them, O how few!

But I return to the Devil's managing our wicked part, for this he does with the most exquisite subtilty; and this is one part of it, viz., he thrusts our vices into our virtues, by which he mixes the clean and the unclean; and thus, by the corruption of the one, poisons and debauches the other, so that the slave he governs cannot account for his own common actions, and is fain to be obliged to his Maker to accept of the heart, without the hands and feet; to take, as we vulgarly express it, the will for the deed; and if heaven was not so good to come into the half-and-half service, I do not see but the Devil would carry away all his servants. Here, indeed, I should enter into a long detail of involuntary wickedness, which, in short, is neither more nor less than the Devil in everybody; aye, in every one of you, (our governor excepted) take it as you please.

What is our language, when we look back with reflection and reproach on past follies? I think I was bewitched, I was possessed; certainly the Devil was in me, or else I had never been such a sot. Devil in you, sir; aye, who doubts it? You may be sure the Devil was in you, and there he is still; and the next time he can catch you in the same snare, you will be just the same sot that you say you was before.

In short the Devil is too cunning for us, and manages us his own way; he governs the vices of men by his own methods. Though every crime will not make a man a devil, yet it must be owned, that every crime puts the criminal in some measure into the Devil's power—gives him a title to the man, and he treats him magisterially ever after.

Some tell us every single man, every individual, has a devil attending him, to execute the orders of the grand signior Devil of the whole clan; that this attending angel (for so he is called) sees every step you take, is with you in every action, prompts you to every mischief and leaves you to do everything that is pernicious to yourself. They also alleged, that there is a good spirit which attends us too; which latter is always accessary

to everything that we do that is good and reluctant to evil. If this is true, how comes it to pass, that those two opposite spirits do not quarrel about it, when they are pressing us to contrary actions, one good, and the other evil? And why does the evil, tempting spirit so often prevail? Instead of answering this difficult question, I shall only tell you, as to this story of good and evil angels attending every particular persons it is a good allegory indeed, to represent the struggle in the mind of man, between good and evil inclinations; but to the rest, the best thing I can say of it is, that I think it is a fib.

But to take things as they are, and only talk by way of natural consequence, for to argue from nature is certainly the best way to find out the Devil's story; if there are good and evil spirits attending us, that is to say, a good angel and a devil, then it is no unjust reproach upon any body to say, when they follow the dictates of the latter, the Devil is in them, or they are devils. Nay, I must carry it farther still, namely, that as the generality and greatest number of people do follow and obey the evil spirit, and not the good, and that the predominate power is allowed to be the nominating power; you must then allow, that in short, the great part of mankind have the Devil in them, and so I come to my text.

To this purpose, give me leave to borrow a few lines of a friend, on this very part of the Devil's management:—

"To places and persons he suits his disguises,
And dresses up all his banditti;
Who, as pick-pockets flock to a county assizes,
Crowd up to the court and the city.

"They're at every elbow, and every ear,
And ready at every call, sir;
The vigilant scout, plants his agents about,
And has something to do with us all, sir.

" In some he has part, and in some he's the whole,
And some, (like the vicar of Baddow,)
It can neither be said they have body nor soul,
But only are devils in shadow.

" The pretty and witty are devils in mask,
The beauties are mere apparitions;
The homely alone by their faces are known,
And the good by their ugly conditions.

" The beaux walk about like the shadows of men,
And wherever he leads them they follow;
But take them and shake them, there's not one in ten
But's as light as a feather, and hollow.

" Thus all his affairs he drives on in disguise,
And he tickles mankind with a feather!
Creeps in at our ears, and looks out at our eyes.
And jumbles our senses together.

" He raises the vapours, and prompts the desires,
And to every dark deed holds the candle;
The passions inflames, and the appetite fires,
And takes everything by the handle.

" Thus he walks up and down in complete masquerade,
And with every company mixes;
Sells in every shop, works at every trade,
And every thing doubtful perplexes."

How Satan comes by this governing influence in the minds and upon the actions of men, is a question I am not yet come to; nor indeed does it so particularly belong to the Devil's history. It seems rather a polemic; so it may pass at school among the metaphysics, and puzzles the heads of our masters; wherefore I think to write to the learned Dr. B. —— about it, imploring

his most sublime haughtiness, that when his other more momentous avocations of pedantry and pedagoguism will give him an interval from wrath and contention, he will set apart a moment to consider human nature devilised, and give us a mathematical, anatomical description of it, with a map of Satan's kingdom in the microcosm of mankind, and such other illuminations, as to him and his contemporaries—and—&c.. in their great wisdom shall seem meet.

CHAPTER V.

Of the Devil's management to the Pagan hierarchy, by omens, entrails, augurs, oracles, and such like pageantry of hell; and how they went off the stage at last by the introduction of true religion.

I HAVE adjourned, and not finished, my account of the Devil's secret management by possession, and shall reassume it in its place; but I must take leave to mention some other parts of his retired scheme, by which he has hitherto managed mankind; and the first of these is by that fraud of all frauds, called oracle.

Here his trumpet had an uncertain sound for some ages; and like what he was, and according to what he practised from the beginning, he delivered out falsehood and delusion by retail. The priests of Apollo acted this farce for him, to a great nicety, at Delphos; there were divers others at the same time, and some, which, to give the Devil his due, he had very little hand in, as we shall see presently.

There were also some smaller, some greater, some more, some less famous places, where those oracles were seated, and audience given to the inquiries; in all which, the Devil, or somebody for him, *permissu superiorum*, for either vindictive or other hidden ends and purposes, was allowed to make at least a pretension to

the knowledge of things to come; but as public cheats generally do, they acted in masquerade, and gave such uncertain and inconsistent responses, that they were obliged to use the utmost art to reconcile events to the prediction, even after things were come to pass.

Here the Devil was a lying spirit, in a particular and extraordinary manner, in the mouths of all the prophets, and yet he had the cunning to express himself so, that, whatever happened, the oracle was supposed to have meant as it fell out; and so all their augurs, omens, and voices, by which the Devil amused the world, not at that time only, but since, have been likewise interpreted.

Julian, the apostate, dealt mightily in these amusements, but the Devil, who neither wished his fall or presaged it to him, evidenced that he knew nothing of Julian's fate; for that, as he sent to almost all the oracles of the east, and summoned all the priests together to inform him of the success of his Persian expedition, they all, like Ahab's prophets, having a lying spirit in them, encouraged him, and promised him success.

Nay, all the ill omens which disturbed him, they presaged good from. For example, he was at a prodigious expense, when he was at Antioch, to buy up white beasts and white fowls for sacrifices, and for predicting from the entrails; from whence the Antiochians, in contempt, called him Victimarius; but whenever the entrails foreboded evil, the cunning Devil made the priests put a different construction upon them, and promise him good. When he entered into the temple of the genii to offer sacrifice, one of the priests dropped down dead. This, had it had any signification more than a man falling dead of an apoplectic fit, would have signified something fatal to Julian, who made himself a brother sacrist or priest, whereas the priests turned it presently to signify the death of his colleague, the consul Sallust, which happened just at the same time, though eight hundred miles off. So, in another case, Julian thought it omin-

ous, that he, who was Augustus, should be named with two other names of persons, both already dead. The case was thus: — The style of the emperor was Julianus Felix Augustus, and two of his principal officers were Julianus and Felix. Now both Julianus and Felix died within a few days of one another, which disturbed him much, who was the third of the three names; but this flattering Devil told him it all imported good to him, namely, that though Julianus and Felix should die, Augustus should be immortal.

Thus, whatever happened, and whatever was foretold, and how much soever they differed from one another, the lying spirit was sure to reconcile the prediction and the event, and make them at least seem to correspond in favour of the person inquiring.

Now we are told oracles are ceased, and the Devil is farther limited for the good of mankind, not being allowed to vent his delusions by the mouths of the priests and augurs as formerly. I will not take upon me to say how far they are really ceased more than they were before; I think it is much more reasonable to believe there was never any reality in them at all, or that any oracle ever gave out any answers but what were the invention of the priests, and the delusions of the Devil. I have a great many ancient authors on my side in this opinion, as Eusebius, Tertullian, Aristotle, and others, who as they lived so near the pagan times, and when even some of those rites were yet in use, they had much more reason to know and could probably pass a judgment upon them. Nay, Cicero himself ridicules them in the most open manner; again, other authors descend to particulars, and show how the cheat was managed by the heathen sacrists and priests, and in what enthusiastic manner they spoke; namely, in going into the hollow images, such as the brazen bull and the image of Apollo, and how subtilly they gave out dubious and ambiguous answers; that when the people did not find their expectations answered by the event, they might be imposed upon by the priests, and confidently

told they did not rightly understand the oracle's meaning. However, I cannot say but that, indeed, there are some authors of good credit too, who will have it, that there was a real prophetic spirit in the voices or answers given by the oracles; and that oftentimes they were miraculously exact in those answers; and they give that of the Delphic oracle, answering the question which was given about Crœsus, for example, viz.; what Crœsus was doing at that time? to wit, that he was boiling a lamb and the flesh of a tortoise together, in a brass vessel or boiler with a cover of the same metal, that is to say, in a kettle with a brass cover.

To affirm, therefore, that they were all cheats, a man must encounter with antiquity, and set his private judgment up against an established opinion. But it is no matter for that, if I do not see anything in the received opinion capable of evidence, much less of demonstration, I must be allowed still to think as I do. Others may believe as they list; I see nothing hard or difficult in the thing; the priests who were always historically informed of the circumstances of the inquirer, or at least something about them, might easily find some ambiguous speech to make, and put some *double entendre* upon them, which from the event, solved the credit of the oracle, were it one way or other; and this they certainly did, or we have room to think the Devil knows less of things now than he did in former days.

It is true, that by these delusions the priests got infinite sums of money; and this makes it still more probable that they would labour hard, and use the utmost of their skill to uphold the credit of their oracles; and it is a full discovery, as well of the subtilty of the sacrists, as of ignorance and stupidity of the people, in those early days of Satan's witchcraft, to see what merry work the Devil made with the world, and what gross things he put upon mankind. Such was the story of the Dodonian oracle in Epirus, namely, that two pigeons flew out of Thebes (N. B.—It was the Egyptian Thebes). from the temple of Belus, erected there by the ancient

sacrists, and that one of these fled eastward into Lybia and the deserts of Africa, and the other into Greece, namely, to Dodona! and these communicated the divine mysteries to one another, and afterwards gave mystical solutions to the devout inquiries. First, the Dodonian pigeon, perching upon an oak, spoke audibly to the people there; that the gods commanded them to build an oracle or temple to Jupiter in that place; which was accordingly done; the other pigeon did the like on the hill in Africa, where it commanded them to build another to Jupiter Ammon, or Hammon.

Wise Cicero contemned all this, and, as authors tell us, ridiculed the answer, which, as I have hinted above, the oracle gave to Crœsus, proving that the oracle itself was a liar; that it could not come from Apollo, for that Apollo, never spoke Latin. In a word, Cicero rejected them all; and Demosthenes also mentions the cheats of the oracles, when speaking of the oracle of Apollo, he said, "Pythia Philippised," that is, that when the priests were bribed with money, they always gave their answers in favour of Philip of Macedon.

But that which is most strange to me is, that in this dispute about the reality of oracles, the heathen, who made use of them, are the people who expose them, who insist most positively upon their being cheats and impostors, and in particular those mentioned above; while the Christians who reject them, yet believe they really did foretel things, answer questions, &c., only with this difference, that the heathen authors, who oppose them, insist that it is all delusion and cheat, and charge it upon the priests; and the Christian opposers insist that it was real, but that the Devil, not the gods, gave the answers; but that he was permitted to do it by a superior power, to magnify that power in the total silencing them at last.

But, as I said before, I am with the heathen against the Christian writers; for I take it all to be a cheat and delusion. I must give my reason for it, or I do nothing. My reason is this—I insist Satan is as blind in

matters of futurity as we are, and can tell nothing of what is to come. These oracles often pretending to predict, could be nothing else therefore but a cheat formed by the money-getting priests to amuse the world, and bring grist to their mill. If I meet with anything in my way to open my eyes to a better opinion of them, I shall tell you as I go on.

On the other hand, whether the Devil really spoke in those oracles, or set the cunning priests to speak for him; whether they predicted, or only made the people believe they predicted; whether they gave answers which came to pass, or prevailed upon the people to believe that which was said to come to pass, it was much the same, and fully answered the Devil's end, namely, to amuse and delude the world; and as to do, or cause to be done, is the same part of speech, so whoever did it, the Devil's interest was carried on by it, his government preserved and all the mischief he could desire was effectually brought to pass; so that every way they were the Devil's oracles, that is out of the question.

Indeed, I have wondered sometimes, why, since by this sorcery the Devil performed such wonders, that is, played so many tricks in the world, and had such universal success, he should set up no more of them; but there might be a great many reasons given for that, too long to tire you with at present. It is true, there were not many of them; and yet considering what a great deal of business they dispatched, it was enough; for six or eight oracles were more than sufficient to amuse the whole world. The chief oracles we meet with in history are among the Greeks and the Romans, viz.:—

That of Jupiter Ammon, in Lybia, as above.
The Dodonian, in Epirus.
Apollo Delphicus, in the country of Phocis in Greece.
Apollo Clarius, in Asia Minor.
Seraphis, in Alexandria, in Egypt.
Trophonius, in Bœotia.

Sybilla Dumæa, in Italy.
Diana, at Ephesus.
Apollo Daphneus, at Antioch.

Besides many of lesser note in several other places, as I have hinted before.

I have nothing to do here with the story mentioned by Plutarch, of a voice being heard at sea, from some of the islands, called the Echindes, and calling upon Thamuz, an Egyptian, who was on board a ship, bidding him, when he came to the Palodes, other islands in the Ionian sea, tell them there that the great god Pan was dead; and when Thamuz performed, great groaning, howlings, and lamentations, were heard from the shore.

This tale tells but indifferently, though indeed, it looks more like a Christian fable, than a pagan; because it seems as if made to honour the Christian worship, and blast all the pagan idolatry; and for that reason I reject it; the Christian profession needing no such fabulous stuff to confirm it.

Nor is it true, in fact, that the oracles did cease immediately upon the death of Christ; but, as I noted before, the sum of the matter is this; the Christian religion spreadeth itself universally, as well as miraculously, and that too by the foolishness of preaching, into all parts of the world; the oracles ceased, that is to say, their trade ceased, their rogueries were daily detected; the deluded people being better taught, came no more after them; and being ashamed as well as discouraged, they sneaked out of the world as well as they could; in short, the customers fell off, and the priests, who were the shopkeepers having no business to do, shut up their shops, broke and went away; the trade and tradesmen were hissed off the stage together; so that the Devil, who, it must be confessed, got infinitely by the cheat, became bankrupt and was obliged to set other engines to work as other cheats and deceivers do, who, when one trick grows stale and will serve no longer, are forced to try another.

Nor was the Devil at a loss to find new measures, for though he could not give out his delusive trash as he did before, in pomp and state, with the solemnity of a temple, and a set of enthusiasts, called priests, who played a thousand tricks to amuse the world, he had then resource to the old Egyptian method, which indeed was more ancient than that of oracles; and that was by magic, soreery, familiars, witchcraft, and the like.

Of this we find the people of the south, that is, of Arabia and Chaldea, were the first, from whence we are told the wise men, that is to say magicians, were called Chaldeans and soothsayers. Hence we also find Ahaziah the king of Israel sent to Baalzebub, the god of Ekron, to inquire whether he should live or die? This, some think, was a kind of an oracle, though, others think it was only some overgrown magician, who counterfeited himself to be a devil, and imposed upon that idol-hunting age to make a cunning man of him; and for that purpose he got himself made a priest of Baalzebub, the god of Ekron, and gave out answers in his name. Thus those merry fellows of Egypt, Jannes and Jambres, are said to mimic Moses and Aaron, when they worked the miraculous plagues upon the Egyptians; and we have some instances in Scripture to support this, such as the witch of Endor, the King Manassas, who dealt with the Devil openly, and had a familar; the woman mentioned in Acts xvi., who had a spirit of divination, and who got money by playing the oracle; that is, answering doubtful questions, &c., which spirit, or Devil, the Apostles cast out.

Now, though it is true that the old women in the world have filled us with tales, some improbable, others impossible; some weak, some ridiculous; and that this puts a general discredit upon all the graver matrons, who entertain us with stories better put together; yet it is certain, and I must be allowed to affirm, that the Devil does not disdain to take into his service many troops of good old women, and old women too, whom

he finds it for his service to keep in constant pay; to these he is found frequently to communicate his mind, and oftentimes we find them such proficients that they know much more than the Devil can teach them.

How far our ancient friend Merlin, or the grave matron his (Satan's) most truly and well-beloved cousin and counsellor, mother Shipton, were commissioned by him to give out their prophetic oracles, and what degree of possession he may have arrived to in them upon their midnight excursions, I will not undertake to prove; but that he migh tbe acquainted with them both, as well as with several of our modern gentlemen, I will not deny neither.

I confess it is not very incongruous with the Devil's temper, or with the nature of his business to shift hands; possibly he found that he had tired the world with oracular cheat; the men began to be surfeited with them, and grew sick of the frauds which were so frequently detected; that it was time to take new measures and contrive some new tricks to bite the world, that he might not be exposed to contempt; or perhaps, he saw the approach of new light, which the Christian doctrine bringing with it, began to spread in the minds of men; that it would outshine the dim burning *ignus fatuus* with which he had so long cheated mankind; and was afraid to stand it, lest he should be mobbed off the stage by his own people, when their eyes should begin to open. That upon this foot, he might in policy withdraw from those old retreats, the oracles, and restrain those responses before they lost all their credit, for we find the people seemed to be at a mighty loss for sometime for want of them, so that it made them run up and down to the conjurors, and man-gossips, to brazen heads, speaking calves, and innumerable simple things, so gross, that they are scarce fit to be named, to satisfy the itch of having their fortunes told them, as we call it.

Now as the Devil is very seldom blind to his own interest, and, therefore, thought fit to quit his old way

of imposing upon the world by his oracles, only because he found the world began to be too wise to be imposed upon that way; so on the other hand, finding there was still a possibility to delude the world, though by other instruments, he no sooner laid down his oracles, and the solemn pageantry, magnificent appearances, and other frauds of his priests and votaries, in their temples and shrines, but he set up a new trade; and having, as I have said, agents and instruments sufficient for any business that he could have to employ them in, he begins in corners, as the learned and merry Dr. Brown says, and exercises his minor trumperies by a way of his own contriving, listing a great number of new-found operators, such as witches, magicians, diviners, figure-casters, astrologers, and such inferior seducers.

Now, it is true, as that doctor says, this was running into corners, as if he had been expelled his more triumphant way of giving audience in form, which for so many ages had been allowed him, yet I must add, that as it seemed to be the Devil's own doing, from a right judgment of his affairs, which had taken a new turn in the world, upon the shining of new lights from the Christian doctrine, so it must be acknowledged the Devil made himself amends upon mankind by the various methods he took, and the multitude of instruments he employed; and, perhaps, deluded mankind in a more fatal and sensible manner than he did before, though not so universally.

He had, indeed, before more pomp and figure put upon it, and he cheated mankind then in a way of magnificence and splendour; but this was not in above eight or ten principal places, and not fifty places in all, public or private; whereas now fifty thousand of his angels and instruments, visible and invisible, hardly may be said to suffice for one town or city; but in short, as his invisible agents fill the air, and are at hand for mischief on every emergency, so his visible tools swarm in every village, and you have scarce a hamlet or a town, but his emissaries are at hand for business; and, which is

still worse, in all places he finds business; nay, even where religion is planted, and seems to flourish; yet he keeps his ground and pushes his interest, according to what has been said elsewhere, upon the same subject, that wherever religion plants, the Devil plants close by it.

Nor, as I say, does he fail of success; delusion spreads like a plague, and the Devil is sure of votaries; like a true mountebank, he can always bring a crowd about his stage, and that sometimes faster than other people.

What I observed upon this subject is this, that the world is at a loss for want of the Devil; if it was not so, what is the resason that, upon the silencing the oracles, and religion telling them that miracles are ceased, and that God has done speaking by prophets, they never inquire whether heaven has established another or new way of revelation, but away they run with their doubts and difficulties to these dreamers of dreams, tellers of fortunes, and personal oracles, to be resolved; as if, when they acknowledge the Devil is dumb, these could speak, and as if the wicked spirit could do more than the good, the diabolical more than the divine; or that heaven, having taken away the Devil's voice, had furnished them with an equivalent, by allowing them scolds, termagants, and old, weak, and superannuated wretches to speak for him; for these are the people we go to now in our doubts and emergencies.

While this blindness continues among us, it is nonsense to say that oracles are silenced, or the Dévil is dumb; for the Devil gives audience still by his deputies; only as Jeroboam made priests of the meanest of the people, so he is grown a little humble, and makes use of meaner instruments than he did before; for, whereas, the priests of Apollo and of Jupiter were splendid in their appearance, of grave and venerable aspect, and sometimes of no mean quality; now he makes use of scoundrels, and rabble, beggars and vagabonds, old hags, superannuated and miserable hermits, gipsies, and strollers, the pictures of envy and ill-luck.

Either the Devil is grown an ill-master, gives but mean wages, that he can get no better servants, or else common sense is grown very low priced and contemptible; that such as these are fit tools to continue the succession of fraud, and carry on the Devil's interest in the world; for were not the passions and temper of mankind deeply pre-engaged in favour of this dark Prince, we could never suffer ourselves to accept of his favours, by the hands of such contemptible agents as these; how do we receive his oracles from an old witch of particular eminence, and who we believe to be more than ordinarily inspired from hell; I say, we receive the oracle with reverence, that is to say, with a kind of horror, with regard to the black Prince it comes from; and, at the same time, turn our faces away from the wretch that mumbles out the answers, lest she should cast an evil eye, as we call it, upon us, and put a devil into us, when she plays the Devil before us; how do we listen to the cant of those worst of vagabonds, the gipsies, when at the same time, we watch our hedges and hen-roosts, for fear of their thieving!

Either the Devil uses us more like fools than he did our ancestors, or we really are worse fools than those ages produced; for they were never deluded by such low priced devils as we are; by such despicable Bridewell devils, that are fitter for a whipping-post than an altar, and, instead of being received as the voice of an oracle, should be sent to the house of correction for pick-pockets.

Nor is this accidental, and here and there one of these wretches to be seen; but, in short, if it had been in other nations as it is with us, I do not see that the Devil was able to get any better people into his pay, or at least very rarely. Where have we seen anything above a tinker turned wizard? Where have we had a witch of quality among us, mother J——gs excepted? and if she had not been more of something else than a witch, it was thought she had never got so much money by her profession.

Magicians, soothsayers, devil-raisers, and such people we have heard much of, but seldom above the degree of the meanest of the mean people, the lowest of the lowest rank. Indeed, the word wisemen, which the Devil would fain have had his agents honoured with, was used a while in Egypt and Persia, among the Chaldeans; but it continued but a little while and never reached so far northward as our country; nor, however the Devil has managed it, have many of our great men, who have been most acquainted with him, ever been able to acquire the title of wise men.

I have heard, that in olden times, I suppose in good Queen Bess's days or beyond (for little is to be said here for anything on this side of her time), there were some counsellors and statesmen who merited the character of wise in the best sense, that is to say, good and wise, as they stand in conjunction; but as to what has happened since that, or, as we call it, from that queen's funeral to the late revolution, I have little to say; but I will tell you what honest Andrew Marvel said of those times, and by that you may, if you please, make your calculation, or let it alone, it is all one:—

"To see a white staff-maker, a beggar, a lord,
And scarce a wiseman at a long council board."

But I may be told this relates to wise men in another constitution, or wise men as they are opposed to fools; whereas we are talking of them now under another class, namely, as wisemen, or magicians, soothsayers, &c., such as were in former times called by that name.

But to this I answer, that, take them in which sense you please, it may be the same; for if I were to ask the Devil the character of the best statesmen he had employed among us for many years past, I am apt to think that, though oracles are ceased, he would honestly, according to the old ambiguous way when I asked if they were Christians, answer they were (his) privy counsellors.

It is but a little while ago, that I happened (in conversation) to meet with a long list of magistrates of that age, in a neighbouring country, that is to say, the men of fame among them; and it was a very diverting thing to see the judgment which was passed upon them among a great deal of good company; it is not for me to tell you how many white staves, golden keys, marshal's batoons, cordon blue, cordon rouge, and cordon blanc, there were among them, or by what titles, as dukes, counts, marquis, abbot, bishop, or justices, they were to be distinguished; but the marginal notes I found upon most of them were (being marked with an asterism), as follows:—

Such a duke, such eminent offices added to his titles (in the margin)—no saint.

Such an arch, with the title of noble added—no arch-angel.

Such an eminent statesman, and prime-minister—no witch.

Such a ribbon, with a set of great letters added—no conjuror.

It presently occurred to me, that though oracles were ceased, and we had no more *double entendre* in such a degree as before, yet that ambiguous answers were not at an end; and that whether those negatives were meant so by the writers or not, it was certain custom led the readers to conclude them to be satires, that they were to be rung backwards, like the bells when the town is on fire; though in short, I durst not read them backward anywhere, but as speaking of foreign people, for fear of raising the Devil I am talking of.

But to return to the subject; to such mean things is the Devil now reduced, in his ordinary way of carrying on his business in the world, that his oracles are delivered now by the bell-man, and chimney-sweepers, by the meanest of those that speak in the dark, and if he operates by them, you may expect it accordingly; his agents seem to me as if the Devil had singled them out by their deformity, or that there was something

particular required in their aspect, to qualify them for their employment; whence it is become proverbial, when our looks are very dismal and frightful, to say, I look like a witch; or, in other cases, to say, as ugly as a witch; in another case, to look as envious as a witch; now, whether there is anything particular required in the looks of the Devil's modern agent, which may assist them in the discharge of their offices, and which makes their answers appear more solemn, this the Devil has not yet revealed, at least not to me; and, therefore, why it is that he singles out such creatures as are fit only to fright the people that come to them with their inquiries, I do not take upon me to determine.

Perhaps, it is necessary they should be thus extraordinary in their aspect, that they might strike an awe into the minds of their votaries, as if they were Satan's true and real representatives; and that the said votaries may think, when they spoke to the witches, they are really talking to the Devil; or, perhaps, it is necessary to the witches themselves, that they should be so exquisitely ugly, that they may not be surprised at whatever figure the Devil makes when he first appears to them, being certain they can see nothing uglier than themselves.

Some are of opinion that the communication with the Devil, or between the Devil and those creatures, his agents, has something assimilating in it; and that if they were tolerable before, they are, *ipso facto*, turned into devils by talking with him; I will not say but that a tremor in the limbs, a horror in the aspect, and a surprising stare in the eyes, may seize upon some of them, when they really see the Devil, and that the frequent repetition may make those distortions, which we so constantly see in their faces, become natural to them; by which, if it does not continue always upon the countenance, they can, at least, like the posture-masters, cast themselves into such figures, and frightful dislocations of the lines and features in their faces, and

so assume a Devil's face, suitable to the occasion, or as may serve the turn when they take it up, and as often as they have any use for it.

But be it which of these the inquirer pleases, it is all one to the case in hand; this is certain, that such deformed devil-like creatures, most of those we call hags and witches, are disagreeable in their shapes and aspects; and that they give out their sentences and frightful messages with an air of revenge for some injury received; for witches are famed chiefly for doing mischief.

It seems the Devil has always picked out the most ugly and frightful old women to do his business. Mother Shipton, our famous English witch, or prophetess, is very much wronged in her picture, if she was not of the most terrible aspect imaginable; and if it be true that Merlin, the famous Welsh fortue-teller, was a frightful figure, it will seem the more rational to believe, if we credit another story, viz., that he was begotten by the Devil himself, of which I shall speak by itself. But to go back to the Devil's instruments being so ugly, it may be observed, I say, that the Devil has always dealt in such sort of cattle. The sibyls, of whom so many strange prophetic things are recorded, whether true or not, is not the question, are (if the Italian painters may have any credit given them) all represented as very old women, as if ugliness was a beauty to old age, they seem to paint them out as ugly and frightful as (not they the painters, but even as) the Devil himself could make them; not that I believe that there are any original pictures of them really extant; but it is not unlikely that the Italians might have some traditional knowledge of them, or some remaining notions of them, as particularly that ancient sibyl, named Anus, who sold the fatal book to Tarquin; it is said of her, that Tarquin supposed she doated with age.

I had thought, indeed, here to have entered into a learned disquisition of the excellency of old women in all diabolical operations, and particularly of the necessity of having recourse to them for Satan's more ex-

quisite administration, which also may serve to solve the great difficulty in the natural philosophy of hell, namely, why it comes to pass that the Devil is obliged, for want of old women, properly so called, to turn so many ancient fathers, grave counsellors both of law and state, and especially civilians, or doctors of law, into old women; and how the extraordinary operations are performed; but this, as a thing of great consequence in Satan's management of human affairs, and particularly as it may lead us into the necessary history, as well as characters, of some of the most eminent of these sects among us, I have purposely reserved for a work by itself, to be published, if Satan hinders not, in fifteen volumes in folio; wherein I shall, in the first place, define, in the most exact manner possible, what is to be understood by a male old woman, of what heterogenous kind they are produced; give you the monstrous anatomy of the parts, and especially those of the head, which being filled with innumerable globules of a sublime nature, and which, being of a fine contexture without, but particularly hollow in the cavity, defines most philosophically that ancient paradoxical, saying, viz., being full of emptiness; and make it very consistent with nature and common sense.

I shall likewise spend some time, and it must be labour too, I assure you, in determining whether this new species of wonderfuls are not derived from the famous old man Merlin, which I prove to be very reasonable for us to suppose, because of the many judicious authors, who affirm the said Merlin, as I hinted before, to have been begotten by the Devil.

As to the deriving his gift of prophecy from the Devil, by that prevented generation, I shall omit that part, because, as I have all along insisted upon it, that Satan himself has no prophetic or predicting powers of his own, it is not very clear to me that he could convey it to his posterity:—*Nil dat quod non habet.*

However, in deriving this so much magnified prophet in a right line from the Devil, much may be said

in favour of his ugly face, in which it was said he was very remarkable, for it is no new thing for a child to be like the father; but all these weighty things I adjourn for the present, and proceed to the affair in hand, namely, the several branches of the Devil's management since his quitting his temples and oracles.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the extraordinary appearance of the Devil and particularly of the cloven foot.

Some people would fain have us treat this tale of the Devil's appearing with a cloven foot, with more solemnity than, I believe, the Devil himself does; for Satan, who knows how much of a cheat it is, must certainly ridicule it, in his own thoughts, to the last degree; but as he is glad of any way to hoodwink the understandings, and bubble the weak part of the world; so, if he sees men willing to take every scarecrow for a devil, it is not his business to undeceive them; on the other hand, if he finds it his interest to foster the cheat, and serve himself of the consequence; nor could I doubt but the Devil, if any mirth be allowed him, often laughs at the many frightful shapes and figures we dress him up in, and especially to see how willing we are first to paint him as black, and make him appear as ugly as we can, and then stare and start at the spectre of our own making.

The truth is, that among all the horribles that we dress up Satan in, I cannot but think we show the least of invention in this of a goat, or a thing with a goat's foot, of all the rest; for though a goat is a creature made use of by our Saviour, in the allegory of the day of judgment, and is said there to represent the wicked, rejected party, yet it seems to be only on account of their similitude to the sheep, and so to represent the just fate

of hypocrisy and hypocrites; and in particular, to form the necessary antithesis in the story ; for else our whimsical fancies excepted, a sheep or a lamb has a cloven foot, as well as a goat, nay, if the Scripture be of any value in this case, it is to the Devil's advantage; for the dividing the hoof was the distinguished character or mark of a clean beast; and how the Devil can be brought into that number, is pretty hard to say.

One would have thought, if we had intended to have given a just figure of the Devil, it would have been more apposite to have ranked him among the cat kind, and given him a foot (if he is to be known by his foot) like a lion, or like a red dragon, being the same creatures which he is represented by in the text; and so his claws would have had some terror in them as well as his teeth.

But neither is the goat a true representative of the Devil at all, for we do not rank the goat among the subtil or cunning parts of the brutes; he is counted a fierce creature indeed of his kind, though nothing like those other above-mentioned; and he is emblematically used to represent a lustful temper, but even that part does not fully serve to describe the Devil, whose operation lies principally another way.

Besides, it is not the goat himself that is made use of, it is the cloven hoof only, and that so particularly, that the cloven foot of a ram, or a swine, or any other creature, may serve as well as a goat; only, that history gives us some cause to call it the goat's foot.

In the next place, it is understood by us not as a bare token to know Satan by, but as if it were a brand upon him; and that, like the mark God put upon Cain, it was given him for a punishment, so that he cannot get leave to appear without it, nay, cannot conceal it, whatever other dress or disguise he may put on; and, as it was to make him as ridiculous as possible, they will have it, that, when Satan has occasion to dress himself in any human shape, be it of what degree soever, from the king to the beggar, be it of a fine lady or of an old woman,

(the latter it seems he most often assumes) yet still he not only must have this cloven foot about him, but is obliged to show it too; nay, they will not allow him any dress, whether it be a prince's robe, a lord cha——'s gown, or a lady's hoop and long petticoat, but the cloven foot must be shown from under them; they will not so much as allow him an artificial shoe or a jack-boot, as we have often seen contrived to conceal a club-foot or a wooden leg; but that the Devil may be known wherever he goes, he is bound to show his foot. They might as well oblige him to set a bill upon his cap, as folks do upon a house to be let, and have it written in capital letters—"I AM THE DEVIL."

It must be confessed this is very particular, and would be very hard upon the Devil, if it had not another article in it, which is some advantage to him; and that is, that the fact is not true; but the belief of this is so universal, that all the world runs away with it, by which mistake the good people miss the Devil many times where they look for him, and meet him as often where they did not expect him, and when, for want of his cloven foot, they did not know him.

Upon this very account I have sometimes thought, not that this has been put upon him by mere fancy, and the cheat of a heavy imagination propagated by fable and chimney-corner divinity, but that it has been a contrivance of his own; and that in short, the Devil raised the scandal upon himself that he might keep his disguise the better, and might go a visiting among his friends without being known, for were it really so, that he could go nowhere without this particular brand of infamy, he could not come into company, could not dine with my lord mayor, nor drink tea with the ladies, could not go to the drawing-r—— at ——; could not have gone to Fontainbleau to the king of France's wedding, or to the diet of Poland, to prevent the grandees there coming to an agreement; nay, which would be still worse than all, he could not go to the masquerade, nor to any of our balls; the reason is plain, he would be

always discovered, exposed, and forced to leave the good company, or, which would be as bad, the company would cry out—"The Devil!" and run out of the room as if they were frightened; nor could all the help of invention do him any service. No dress he could put on would cover him; not all our friends of Tavistock Corner could furnish him with a habit that would disguise or conceal him; this unhappy foot would spoil all. Now this would be so great a loss to him, that I question whether he would carry on any of his most important affairs in the world without it; for though he has access to mankind in his complete disguise, I mean that of his invisibility, yet the learned very much agree in this, that his corporeal presence in the world is absolutely necessary, upon many occasions, to support his interest, and keep up his correspondences, and particularly to encourage his friends, when numbers are requisite to carry on his affairs; but this part I shall have occasion to speak of again, when I come to consider him as a gentleman of business in his locality, and under the head of visible apparitions; but I return to the foot.

As I have thus suggested, that the Devil himself has politically spread about this notion concerning his appearing with a cloven foot, so I doubt not that he has thought it for his purpose to paint his cloven foot so lively in the imaginations of many of our people, and especially of those clear-sighted folks, who see the Devil when he is not to be seen, that they would make no scruple to say, nay, and to make affidavit too, even before Satan himself, whenever he sat upon the bench, that they had seen his worship's foot at such and such a time. This I advance, the rather because it is very much for his interest to do this; for if we had not many witnesses, *viva voce*, to testify it, we should have had some obstinate fellows always among us, who would have denied the fact, or at least have spoken doubtfully of it; and so have raised disputes and objections against it, as impossible, or at least improbable; buzzing one

ridiculous notion or other into our ears, as if the Devil was not so black as he was painted; that he had no more a cloven foot than a pope, whose apostolical toes have been so reverentially kissed by kings and emperors; but now, alas! this part is out of the question; not the man in the moon, nor the groaning board, nor the speaking of Friar Bacon's brazen head, nor the inspiration of Mother Shipton, or the miracles of Dr. Faustus, things as certain as death and taxes, can be more firmly believed. The Devil not having a cloven foot, I doubt not but I could, in a short time, bring a thousand old women together, that would as soon believe there was no Devil at all, nay, they will tell you he could not be a Devil without it, any more than he could come into the room, and the candles not turn blue; or go out, and not leave a smell of brimstone behind him.

Since then, the certainty of the thing is so well established, and there are so many good and substantial witnesses ready to testify that he has a cloven foot, and that they have seen it too; nay, and that we have antiquity on our side (for we have this truth confirmed by the testimony of many ages), why should we doubt it any longer? We can prove that many of our ancestors have been of this opinion; and divers learned authors have left it upon record, as particularly that learned familiarist, Mother Hazel, whose writings are to be found in manuscript, in the famous library of Pye-corner; also the admired Joan of Amesbury, the history of the Lancashire witches, and the reverend exorcist of the devils of London, whose history is extant among us till this day. All these, and many more, may be quoted, and their writings referred to, for the confirmation of the antiquity of the truth; but there seems to be no occasion for farther evidence, it is enough; Satan himself, if he did not raise the report, yet tacitly owns the fact, at least, he appears willing to have it believed, and be received as a general truth, for the reasons above.

But besides all this, and as much a jest as some unbelieving people would have this story to pass for, whc

knows but that if Satan be empowered to assume any shape or body, and to appear to us as if really so shaped, I say, who knows but he may, by the same authority, be allowed to assume the addition of the cloven foot, or two or four cloven feet, if he pleased? And why not a cloven foot as well as any other foot, if he thinks fit? For if the Devil can assume a shape, and can appear to mankind in a visible form, it may, I doubt not, with as good authority be advanced, that he is left at liberty to assume what shape he pleases, and to choose what case of flesh and blood he will please to wear, whether real or imaginary; and if this liberty be allowed him, it is an admirable disguise for him to come generally with his cloven foot. that when he finds it for his purpose, on special occasions, to come without it, as I said above, he may not be suspected; but take this with you as you go, that all this is upon supposition that the Devil can assume a visible shape, and make a real appearance; which, however, I do not think fit to grant or deny.

Certain it is, the first people who bestowed a cloven foot upon the Devil, were not so despicable as you may imagine, but were real favourites of heaven; for did not Aaron set up the Devil of a calf in the congregation, and set the people a-dancing about it for a god? Upon which occasion expositors tell us, that particular command was given, Lev. xvii.—"They shall no more offer their sacrifices unto devils, after whom they have gone a-whoring. Likewise king Jeroboam set up the two calves, one at Dan, and the other at Bethel; and we find them charged afterwards with the setting up the worship of devils, instead of the worship of God.

After this, we find some nations, actually sacrificed to the Devil in the form of a ram, and others of goats; from which, and that above of the calves of Horeb, I doubt not the story of the cloven foot first derived; and it is plain, that the worship of that calf at Horeb, is meant in the Scripture, quoted above, Lev. xvii.—"Thou shalt no more offer sacrifice unto devils." The original is *seghnirim*, that is, rough and hairy goats or calves and

some think also, in this shape the Devil most ordinarily appeared to the Egyptians and Arabians, from whence it was derived.

Also in the old writings of the Egyptians, I mean their hieroglyphic writings, before the use of letters was known, we are told that this was the mark he was known by; and the figure of the goat was the hieroglyphic of the Devil, some will affirm that the Devil was particularly pleased to be so represented. How they came by their information, and whether they had it from his own mouth or not, authors have not yet determined.

But be this as it will, I do not see that Satan could have been at a loss for some extraordinary figure to have bantered mankind with, though this had not been thought of; but thinking of the cloven foot first, and the matter being indifferent, this took place, and easily rooted itself in the bewildered fancy of the people; and now it is rivetted too fast for the Devil himself to remove it if he was disposed to try; but as I said above, it is none of his business to solve doubts, or remove difficulties out of our heads, but perplex us with more, as much as he can.

Some people carry this matter a great deal higher still, and will have the cloven foot to be like the great stone which the Brazilian conjurors used to solve all difficult questions upon, after having used a great many monstrous and barbarous gestures and distortions of their bodies, and cut certain marks or magical figures upon the stone; so, I say, they will have this cloven foot to be a kind of conjuring stone, and tell us, that in former times, when Satan drove a greater trade with mankind in public than he has done of late; he gave his cloven foot as a token to his particular favourites to work wonders with, and to conjure by; and that witches, fairies, hobgoblins, and such things, of which the ancients have several kinds, at least in their imaginations, had all a goat's leg, with a cloven foot, to put on upon extraordinary occasions. It seems this method

is of late grown out of practice; and so like the melting of marble, and the painting of glass, it is laid aside among the various useful arts which historians tell us are lost to the world. What may be practised in the fairy world, if such a place there be, we can give no particulars at present.

But neither is this all, for other would-be wise people take upon them to make farther and more considerable improvements upon this doctrine of the cloven foot, and treat it as a most significant instrument of Satan's private operation; and that as Joseph is said to divine, that is to say, to conjure by his golden cup, which was put into Benjamin's sack, so the Devil has managed many of his secret operations and possessions, and other hellish mechanisms, upon the spirits as well as the bodies of men, by the medium or instrumentality of the cloven foot. Accordingly, it had a kind of a hellish inspiration in it, and a separate and magical power, by which he wrought his infernal miracles; that the cloven foot had a superior signification, and was not only emblematic and significative of the conduct of men, but really guided their conduct in the most important affairs of life; and that the agents the Devil employed to influence mankind, and to delude them, and draw them into all the snares and traps that he lays continually for their destruction, were equipped with this foot, in aid of their other power for mischief.

Here they read us learned lectures upon the sovereign operations which the Devil is at present master of in the government of human affairs; and how the cloven foot is an emblem of the true old *double entendre*, or divided aspect, which the great men of the world generally act with, and by which all their affairs are directed; from whence it comes to pass, that there is no such thing as a single-hearted integrity, or an upright meaning to be found in the world; that mankind, worse than the ravenous brutes, prey upon their own kind, and devour them all by the laudable methods of flattery, wine, cheat, and treachery; crocodile like, weeping over those

they would devour—destroying those they smile upon; and in a word, devour their own kind, which the beast refuse, and that by all the ways of fraud and allurement that hell can invent; holding out a cloven divided hoof or hand, pretending to save, when the very pretence is made use of to ensnare and destroy.

Thus the divided hoof is the representative of a divided double tongue; and an emblem of the most exquisite hypocrisy, the most fawning and fatally-deceiving flattery. And here they give us very diverting histories, though tragical in themselves, of the manner in which some of the Devil's inspired agents have managed themselves, under the special influence of the cloven foot; how they made war under the pretence of peace, murdered garrisons under the most sacred capitulations, and massacred innocent multitudes after surrenders to mercy.

Again they tell us, the cloven foot has been made use of in all treasons, plots, assassinations, and secret as well as open murders and rebellions. Thus Joab, under the treason of embrace, showed how dexterously he could manage the cloven foot, and struck Abner under the fifth rib: thus David played the cloven foot with poor Uriah, when he had a mind to lay with his wife: thus Brutus played it with Cæsar: and to come nearer home, we have had a great many retrograde motions in this country, by this magical implement, the foot; such as that of the Earl of Essex's fate, beheading the Queen of Scots, and divers others in Queen Elizabeth's time: that of the Earl of Shrewsbury and Sir Thomas Overbury, Gondamor and Sir Walter Raleigh, and many others in King James the First's time, in all which, if the cloven foot had not been dexterously managed, those murders had not been so dexterously performed, or the murderers have been so well screened from justice; for which, and the imprecated vengeance of heaven unappeased, some have thought the innocent branches of the royal house of Stuart did not fare the better in the ages which followed.

It must be confessed the cloven foot was in its full exercise in the next reign, and the generation that rose up immediately after them, arrived to the most exquisite skill for management of it. Here they fasted and prayed; there they plundered and murdered; here they raised war for the king, and there they fought against him; cutting throats for God's sake, and deposing both king and kingly government, according to law; nor was the cloven foot unemployed on all sides, for it is the main excellency of this instrument of hell, that it acts on every side; it is its denominating quality, and is, for that reason, called a cloven or divided hoof.

This mutilated apparition has been so public in other countries too, that it seems to convince us that the Devil is not confined to England only; but that, as his empire extends to all the sublunary world, so he gives them all room to see he is qualified to manage them his own way.

What abundant use did that prince of dissemblers, Charles the Tenth make of this foot? It was by the help of this apparition of the foot that he bated his hook with the city of Milan, and tickled Francis the First of France so well with it, that when he passed through France, and was in that king's power, he let him go, and never got the bait off the hook neither. It seems the foot was not on King Francis at that time.

How cruelly did Philip the Second of Spain manage this foot in the murder of the nobility of the Spanish Netherlands, the assassination of the Prince of Orange, and at last in that of his own son Don Carlos, Infant of Spain? And yet such was the Devil's craft, and so nicely did he bestir his cloven foot, that this monarch died consolated (though impenitent) in the arms of the church, and with the benediction of the clergy too, this second best managers of the said hoof in the world.

I must acknowledge I agree with this opinion thus far, namely, that the Devil, acting by his cloven foot as a machine, has done great things in the world, for propagating his dark empire among us: and history is full

of examples, besides the little low-priced things done among us; for we are come to such a kind of degeneracy in folly, that we have even dishonoured the Devil, and put this glorious engine, the cloven foot, to such mean uses, that the Devil himself seems to be ashamed of us.

But to return a little to foreign history; besides what has been mentioned above, we find flaming examples of most glorious mischief done by his weapon, when put into the hands of kings, and men of fame in the world. How many games have the Kings of France played with this cloven foot, and that within a few years of one another? First, Charles the Ninth played the cloven foot upon Grasper Coligni, admiral of France, when he caressed him, complimented him, invited him to Paris to the wedding of the King of Navarre, called him father, kissed him, when he was wounded sent his two surgeons to take care of him; and yet, three days after, ordered him to be assassinated and murdered, used with a thousand indignities, and at last thrown out of the window into the streets, to be insulted by the rabble.

Did not Henry the Third, in the same country, play the cloven foot upon the Duke of Guise, when he called him to the council, and caused him to be murdered as he was going in at the door! The Guises again played the same game upon the king, when they sent out a Jacobin friar to assassinate him in his tent, as he lay at the siege of Paris.

In a word this opera of the cloven foot has been acted all over the Christian world, ever since Judas betrayed the Son of God with a kiss; nay, our Saviour says expressly of him, "One of you is a devil:" and the sacred text say in another place, "The devil entered into Judas."

It would take up a great deal of time and paper too, to give you a full account of the travels of the cloven foot, its progress into all the courts of Europe, and with what most accurate hypocrisy Satan has made use of it

upon many occasions, and with what success; but as in the elaborate work, of which I just now gave you a specimen, I design one whole volume upon this subject, and which I shall call—The Complete History of the Cloven Foot. I say, for that reason and divers others, I shall say but very little more to it in this place.

It remains to tell you, that this merry story of the cloven foot, is very essential to the history which I am now writing, as it has been all along the great emblem of the Devil's government in the world, and by which all his most considerable engagements have been answered and executed; for as he is said not to be able to conceal this foot, but that he carries it always with him, it imports most plainly that the Devil would be no Devil, if he was not a dissembler, a deceiver, and carried a double of *entendre* in all he does or says; that he cannot but say one thing and mean another; promise one thing and do another; engage, and not perform; declare, and not intend; and act like a true Devil as he is, with a countenance that is no index of his heart.

I might inded go back to originals, and derive this cloven foot from Satan's primitive state as a cherubim or a celestial being; which cherubims, as Moses is said to have seen them about the throne of God in Mount Sinai, and as the same Moses, from the original, represented them afterwards covering the ark, had the head and face of a man, wings of an eagle, body of a lion, and legs and feet of a calf! But this is not so much to our present purpose; for as we are to allow, that whatever Satan had of heavenly beauty before he fell, he lost it all when he commenced Devil; so to fetch his original so far up, would be only to say, that he retained nothing but the cloven foot; and that all the rest of him was altered and deformed, become horrible and frightful as the Devil; but this cloven foot as we understand it, is rather mystical and emblematic, and describes him only as the foundation of mischief and treason, and the prince of hypocrites, and as such we are now to speak of him.

It is from this original all the hypocritic world copy. He wears the foot on their account, and from this model they act. This made our blessed Saviour tell them, "The works of our father he will do;" meaning the Devil, as he has expressed it just before.

Nor does he deny the use of the foot to the meaner class of his disciples in the world, but decently equips them all upon every occasion, with a needful proportion of hypocrisy and deceit, that they may hand on the power of promiscuous fraud through all his temporal dominions, and wear the foot always about them, as a badge of their professed share in whatever is done by that means.

Thus every dissembler, every false friend, every secret cheat, every bear-skin jobber, has a cloven foot, and so far hands on the Devil's interest by the same powerful agency of art, as the Devil himself uses to act when he appears in person, or would act if he was just now upon the spot; for this foot is a machine which is to be wound up or wound down, as the cause it appears for requires; and there are agents and engineers to act in it by the directions of Satan (the grand engineer) who lies still on his retirement, only issuing out his orders as he sees convenient.

Again:—Every class, every trade, every shopkeeper, every pedlar, nay, that meanest of tradesmen, the church-pedlar, the Pope, has a cloven foot, with which he paw-waws upon the world; wishes them all well and at the same time cheats them; wishes them all fed, and at the same time starves them; wishes them all in heaven, and at the same time marches before them directly to the Devil, *a-la-mode de* cloven foot.

Nay, the very bench, the ever living foundation of justice in the world, how often has it been made the tool of violence, the refuge of oppression, the seat of bribery and corruption, by this monster in masquerade, and that everywhere, (our own country always excepted!) they had much better wipe out the picture of justice blinded, having the sword and scales in her hand,

which in foreign countries is generally painted over the seat of those who sit to do justice, and place instead thereof, a naked unarmed cloven foot, a proper emblem of that spirit that influences the world, and of the justice we often see administered among them. Human imaginations cannot form an idea more suitable, nor the Devil propose an engine more or better qualified for an operation of justice, by the influence of bribery and corruption. It is this magnipotent instrument in the hands of the Devil, which, under the closest disguise, agitates every passion, bribes every affection, blackens every virtue, gives a double face to words and actions, and to all persons who have any concern in them, and in a word, makes us all devils to one another.

Indeed, the Devil has taken but a dark emblem to be distinguished by; for this of a goat was said to be a creature hated by mankind from the beginning, and that there is a natural antipathy in mankind against them; hence the scape goat was to bear the sins of the people, and to go into the wilderness with all that burden upon him.

But we have a saying among us, in defence of which we must inquire into the proper sphere of action which may be assigned to this cloven foot as hitherto described; the proverb is this, every devil has not a cloven foot. This proverb, instead of giving us some more favourable thoughts of the Devil, confirms what I have said already, that the Devil raised this scandal upon himself; I mean the report that he cannot conceal or disguise his Devil's foot or hoof, but that it must appear under whatever habit he shows himself, and the reason I gave holds good still; namely, that he may be more effectually concealed when he goes abroad without it; for if the people were fully persuaded that the Devil could not appear without this badge of his honour, or mark of his infamy, take it as you will; and that he was bound also to show it upon all occasions; it would be natural to conclude that whatever frightful appearances might be seen in the world, if the cloven foot did

not also appear, we had no occasion to look for the Devil, or so much as to think of him, much less to apprehend he was so near us; and as this might be a mistake, and that the Devil might be there while we thought ourselves secure, it might on many occasions be a mistake of very bad consequence; and in particular it would give the Devil room to act in the dark, and not be discovered, where it might be most needful to know him.

From this short hint, thus repeated, I draw a new thesis; namely, that the Devil is most dangerous that has no cloven foot; or, if you will have it in words more to the common understanding;—the Devil seems to be most dangerous when he goes without his cloven foot.

And here a learned speculation offers itself to our debate, and which, indeed, I ought to call a council of casuists, and men learned in the Devil's politics to determine.

Whether it is most hurtful to the world, the Devil walking about without his cloven foot, or the cloven foot walking about without the Devil?

It is, indeed, a nice and difficult question, and merits to be well inquired into; for which reason, and divers others, I have referred it to be treated with some decency, and as a dispute of dignity, sufficient to take up a chapter by itself.

CHAPTER VII.

Whether it is most hurtful to the world, the Devil walking about without his cloven foot, or the cloven foot walking about without the Devil.

In discussing this most critical distinction of Satan's private motions, I must as the pulpit gentlemen direct us, explain the text, and let you know what I mean by

several dark expressions in it, that I may not be understood to talk (as the Devil walks) in the dark.

1. As to the Devil walking about.
2. His walking without his cloven foot.
3. The cloven foot walking about without the Devil.

Now, as I study brevity, and yet would be understood too, you may please to understand me as I understand myself, thus:—

1. That I must be allowed to suppose the Devil really has an intercourse in, and through, and about the this globe, with egress and regress, for the carrying on his special affairs, when, how, and where, to his majesty, in his great wisdom, it shall seem meet; that sometimes he appears and becomes visible, and that, like a mastiff without his clog, he does not always carry his cloven foot with him. This will necessarily bring me to some debate upon the most important question of apparitions, hauntings, walkings, &c., whether of Satan in human shape, or of human creatures in the Devil's shape, or in any other manner whatsoever.
2. I must be allowed to tell you, that Satan has a great deal of wrong done him by the general embracing of vulgar errors, and that there is a cloven foot oftentimes without a devil; or, in short, that Satan is not guilty of all the simple things, no, nor of all the wicked things, we charge him with.

These two heads well settled, will fully explain the title of this chapter, answer the query mentioned in it, and at the same time correspond well with, and give us a farther prospect into the main and original design of this work; namely, the history of the Devil. We are so fond of, and pleased with the general notion of seeing the Devil, that I am loath to disoblige my readers so much as the calling in question his visibility would

do. Nor is it my business, any more than it is his, to undeceive them, where the belief is so agreeable to them; especially since upon the whole, it is not one farthing matter, either on one side or on the other, whether it be so or not, or whether the truth of the fact be ever discovered or not.

Certain it is, whether we see him or not, here he is, and I make no doubt, but he is looking on while I am writing this part of his story, whether behind me, or at my elbow, or over my shoulder, is not material to me, nor have I once turned my head about to see whether he is there or not; for if he be not in the inside, I have so mean an opinion of his extravasated powers, that it seems of very little consequence to me what shape he takes up, or in what posture he appears; nor, indeed, can I find in all my inquiry, that ever the Devil appeared (*qua* Devil) in any of the most dangerous or important of his designs in the world; the most of his projects, especially of the significant part of them having been carried on another way.

However, as I am satisfied nobody will be pleased if I should dispute the reality of his appearance, and as the world runs away with it as a received point, which admits of no dispute, I shall most readily grant the general and give you some account of the particulars.

History is fruitful of particulars, whether invention has supplied them or not, I will not say where the Devil is brought upon the stage in plain and undeniable apparition; the story of Samuel being raised by the witch of Endor, I shall leave quite out of my list, because there are so many scruples and objections against that story; and as I shall not dispute with the Scripture, so, on the other hand, I have so much deference for the dignity of the Devil, as not to determine rashly how far it may be in the power of every old (witch) woman, to call him up whenever she pleases, and that he must come, whatever the pretence is or whatever business of consequence he may be engaged

in, as often as it is needful for her to paw-waw for half-a-crown, or, perhaps, less than half the money.

Nor will I undertake to tell you, till I have talked farther with him about it, how far the Devil is concerned to discover frauds, detect murders, reveal secrets, and especially to tell where any money is hid, and show folks where to find it; it is an odd thing that Satan should think it of consequence to come and tell us where such a miser hid a strong box, or where such an old woman buried her chamber-pot full of money, the value of all which is perhaps but a trifle, when at the same time he sets so many veins of gold, so many unexhausted mines, nay, mountains of silver, as we may depend upon it, are hid in the bowels of the earth, and which it would be so much to the good of whole nations to discover, lie still there, and never say one word of them to anybody. Besides, how does the Devil's doing things so foreign to himself, and so out of his way, agree with the rest of his character; namely, showing a kind of a friendly disposition to mankind, or doing beneficent things. This is so beneath Satan's quality, and looks so little that I scarce know what to say to it; but that which is still more pungent in the case is this, these things are so out of his road, and so foreign to his calling, that it shocks our faith in them, and seems to clash with all the just notions we have of him, and of his business in the world. The like is to be said of those little merry turns we bring him in acting with us, and upon us, upon trifling and simple occasions, such as tumbling chairs and stools about the house, setting pots and vessels bottom upward, tossing the glass and crockery-ware about, without breaking; and such like mean foolish things, beneath the dignity of the Devil, who, in my opinion, is rather employed in setting the world with the bottom upward, tumbling kings and crowns about and dashing the nations one against another, raising tempests and storms, whether at sea or on shore; and in a word, doing capital mischiefs suitable to his nature and agreeable to his name

Devil, and suited to that circumstance of his condition, which I have fully represented in the primitive part of his exiled state.

But to bring in the Devil playing at push-pin with the world, or like Domitian catching flies, that is to say, doing nothing to the purpose; that is not only deluding ourselves, but putting a slur upon the Devil himself; and I say I shall not dishonour Satan so much as to suppose anything in it; however, as I must have a care too how I take away the proper materials of winter-evening frippery, and leave the good wives nothing of the Devil to frighten the children with, I hall carry the weighty point no further. No doubt the Devil and Dr. Faustus were very intimate; I should rob you of a very significant proverb, if I should so much as doubt it; no doubt, the Devil showed himself in the glass to that fair lady who looked in to see where to place her patches; but then it should follow too, that the Devil is an enemy to the ladies wearing patches; and that has some difficulties in it, which we cannot so easily reconcile; but we must tell the story, and leave out the consequences.

But to come to more remarkable things, and in which the Devil has thought fit to act in a figure more suitable to his dignity, and on occasions consistent with himself; take the story of the appearance of Julius Cæsar, or the Devil assuming that murdered emperor to the great Marcus Brutus, who, notwithstanding all the good things said to justify it, was no less than a king-killer and an assassinator, which we in our language call by a very good name, and peculiar to the English tongue, a ruffian.

The spectre had certainly the appearance of Cæsar, with his wounds bleeding fresh as if he had just received the fatal blow; he had reproached him with his ingratitude, with "*Tu Brute! tu quoque, mi filli:* What thou, Brutus! thou, my adopted son." Now history seems to agree universally, not only in the story itself, but in the circumstances of it; we have only to observe that

the Devil had certainly power to assume, not only a human shape only, but the shape of Julius Cæsar, in particular.

Had Prutus been a timorous, conscience-harried, weak-headed wretch, had he been under the horror of the guilt, and terrified with the dangers that were before him at that time, we might suggest that he was over-run with the vapours, that the terrors which were upon his mind disordered him, that his head was delirious and prepossessed, and that his fancy only placed Cæsar so continually in his eyes, that it realized him to his imagination, and believed he saw him; with many other suggested difficulties to invalidate the story, and render the reality of it doubtful.

But the contrary, to an extreme, was the case of Brutus; his known character placed him above the power of all hypocondriacs, or fanciful delusions; Brutus was of a true Roman spirit, a bold hero, of an intrepid courage, one that scorned to fear even the Devil, as the story allows; besides, he gloried in the action, there could be no terror of mind upon him, he valued himself upon it, as done in the service of liberty, and the cause of his country; and was so far from being frighted at the Devil in the worst shape, that he spoke first to him, and asked him, What art thou? And when he was cited to see him again at Philippi, answered with a gallantry that knew no fear, "Well, I will see thee there." Whatever the Devil's business was with Brutus, this is certain according to all the historians, who give us the account of it, that Brutus discovered no fear; he did not, like Saul at Endor, fall to the ground in a swoon, 1 Sam. xxviii. 20. "Then Saul fell along upon the earth, and there was no strength in him, and he was sore afraid." In a word, I see no room to charge Brutus with being over-run with the hypo or with the vapours, or with fright and terror of mind; but he saw the Devil that is certain, and with eyes open, his courage not at all daunted, his mind resolute, and with the utmost composure spoke to him, replied to his answer, and

defied his summons to death, which indeed he feared not, as appeared afterwards.

I come next to an instance as eminent in history as the other; this was in Charles the Sixth of France, surnamed the Beloved, who riding over the forest near Mans, a ghastly frightful fellow (that is to say the Devil, so clothed in human vizor), came up to his horse and taking hold of his bridle, stopped him, with addition of these words,—"Stop, king, whither go you? You are betrayed!" and immediately disappeared. It is true the king had been distempered in his head before, and so he might have been deceived, and we might have charged it to the account of a whimsical brain, or the power of his imagination; but this was in the face of his attendants, several of his great officers, courtiers, and princes of the blood, being with him, who all saw the man, heard the words, and immediately, to their astonishment, lost sight of the spectre, who vanished from them all.

Two witnesses will convict a murderer, why not a traitor? This must be the old gentleman, emblematically so called, or who must it be? nay, who else could it be? His ugliness is not the case, though ugly as the Devil, is a proverb in his favour; but vanishing out of sight, is an essential to a spirit, and to an evil spirit in our times especially.

These are some of the Devil's extraordinaries, and it must be confessed they are not the most agreeable to mankind; for sometimes he takes upon him to disorder his friends very much on these occasions, as in the above case of Charles the Sixth of France; the king, they say, was really demented ever after, that is, as we vulgarly, but not always improperly, express it, he was really frightened out of his wits. Whether the malicious Devil intended it so or not, is not certain, though it was not so foreign to his particular disposition if he did.

But where he is more intimate, we are told he appears in a manner less disagreeable, and there he is more properly a familiar spirit, that is, in short, a Devil of their

acquaintance; it is true the ancients understand the word, a familiar spirit, to be one of the kinds of possession; but if it serves our turn as well under the denomination of an intimate Devil, or a devil visitant, it must be acknowledged to be as near in the literal sense and acceptation of the word, as the other; nay, it must be allowed it is a very great piece of familiarity in the Devil to make visits, and show none of his disagreeables, not appear formidable, or in the shape of what he is, respectfully withholding his dismal part, in compassion to the infirmities of his friends.

It is true Satan may be obliged to make different appearances as the several circumstances of things call for it; in some cases he makes his public entry, and then he must show himself in his habit of ceremony; in other cases he comes upon private business, and then he appears in disguise; in some public cases he may think fit to be incog., and then he appears dressed *a la masque;* so they say he appeared at the famous St. Bartholomew wedding at Paris, where he came in dressed like a trumpeter, danced in his habit, sounded a levit, and then went out and rung the alarm bell (which was the signal to begin the massacre), half an hour before the time appointed, lest the king's mind should alter, and his heart fail him.

If this story be not made upon him (for we should not slander the Devil), it should seem he was not thoroughly satisfied in King Charles the Ninth's steadiness in his cause; for the king, it seems, had relaxed a little once before, and Satan might be afraid he would fall off again and so prevent the execution. Others say, the king did relent immediately after the ringing of the alarm bell, but that then it was too late; the work was begun, and the rage of blood having been let loose among the people, there was no recalling order. If the Devil was thus brought to the necessity of a secret judgment, it must be owned he did it dexterously; but I have not authority enough for the story to charge him with the particulars so I leave it *au croc.*

I have much better vouchers for the story following, which I had so solemnly confirmed by one that lived in the family, that I never doubted the truth of it.

There lived in the parish of St. Bennet Fynk, near the Royal Exchange, an honest poor widow woman, who, her husband being lately dead, took lodgers into her house, that is, she let out some of her rooms, in order to lessen her own charge of rent; among the rest she let out her garrets to a working watch-wheel maker, or one some way concerned in making the movements of watches, and who worked for those shop-keepers who sell watches as is usual.

It happened that a man and woman went up to speak with this movement maker upon some business which related to his trade, and when they were near the top of the stairs, the garret-door where he usually worked being wide open, they saw the poor man (the watchmaker or wheel-maker) had hanged himself upon a beam which was left open in the room, a little lower than the plaster or ceiling; surprised at the sight, the woman stopped, and cried out to the man who was behind her on the stairs, that he should run up and cut the poor creature down.

At that very moment comes a man hastily from another part of the room, which they upon the stairs could not see, bringing a joint stool in his hand, as if in great haste, and sets it down just by the wretch that was hanged, and getting up hastily upon it, pulls a knife out of his pocket, and taking hold of the rope with one of his hands, beckoned to the woman and the man behind her with his head, as if to stop and not come up, showing them the knife in his other hand, as if he was just going to cut the poor man down. Upon this, the woman stopped a while, but the man who stood on the joint-stool continued with his hand and knife, as if fumbling at the knot, but did not yet cut the man down, at which the woman cried out again, and the man behind her called to her. Go up (says he), and help the man upon the stool; supposing something hin-

dered. But the man upon the stool made signs to them again to be quiet, and not come on, as if saying, I shall do it immediately; then he made two strokes with his knife, as if cutting the rope, and then stopped again, and still the poor man was hanging, and consequently dying. Upon this, the woman upon the stairs cried out to him, What ails you? Why do you not cut the poor man down? And the man behind her, having no more patience, thrusts her by, and said to her, Let me come, I'll warrant you I'll do it, and with that runs up and forward into the room to the man; but when he came there, behold, the poor man was there hanging, but no man with a knife, or joint-stool, or any such thing to be seen, all that was spectre and delusion, in order, no doubt, to let the poor creature that hanged himself perish and expire.

The man was so frightened and surprised, that with all the courage he had before, he dropped on the floor as one dead; and the woman at last was fain to cut the poor man down with a pair of scissors, and had much to do to effect it.

As I have no room to doubt the truth of this story, which I had from persons on whose honesty I could depend, so I think it needs very little trouble to convince us who the man upon the stool must be, and that it was the Devil who placed himself there, in order to finish the murder of the man, whom he had, devil-like, tempted before, and prevailed with to be his own executioner. Besides, it corresponds so well with the Devil's nature, and with his business, viz., that of a murderer, that I never questioned it; nor can I think we wrong the Devil at all to charge him with it.

N.B.—I cannot be positive in the remaining part of this story, viz., whether the man was cut down soon enough to be recovered, or whether the Devil carried his point, and kept off the man and woman till it was too late; but be it which it will, it is plain he did his devilish endeavour, and stayed till he was forced to abscond.

We have many solid tales, well attested, as well in history as in the reports of honest people, who could not be deceived, intimating the Devil's personal appearance, some in one place, some in another; as also sometimes in one habit of dress, and sometimes in another; and it is to be observed, that in none of those which are most like to be real, and in which there is least of fancy and vapour, you have any mention of the cloven foot; which rather seems to be a mere invention of man (and, perhaps, chiefly of those who had a cloven understanding, I mean a shallow kind of craft, the effect of an empty and simple head), thinking by such a well meant, though weak fraud, to represent the Devil to the old women and children of the age, with some addition suitable to the weakness of their intellects, and suited to the making them afraid of him.

I have another account, of a person who travelled upwards of four years with the Devil in his company, and conversed most intimately with him all the while; nay, if I may believe the story, he knew most part of the time that he was the Devil, and yet conversed with him, and that very profitably, for he performed many very useful services for him, and constantly preserved him from the danger of wolves and wild beasts, which the country he travelled through was tolerably full of; where, by the way, you are to understand, that the wolves and bears in those countries knew the Devil, whatever disguise he went in, or that the Devil has some way to frighten bears and such creatures more than we know of. Nor could this Devil ever be prevailed upon to hurt him or any of his company. This account has an innumerable series of diverting incidents attending it, but they are equal to all the rest in bulk, and, therefore, too long for this book.

I find, too, upon some more ordinary occasions, the Devil has appeared to several people at their call. This, indeed, shows abundance of good humour in him, considering him as a Devil, and that he was mighty complaisant. Nay, some, they tell us, have a power to

raise the Devil whenever they think fit; this I cannot bring the Devil to level with, unless I should allow him to be *servus servorum*, as another devil in disguise calls himself, subjected to every old wizard's call; or that he is under a necessity of appearing, on such or such particular occasions, whoever it is that calls him; which will bring the Devil's circumstances to a pitch of slavery which I see no reason to believe of them,

Here, also, I must take notice again, that though I say the Devil when I speak of all these apparitions, whether of a greater or lesser kind, yet I am not obliged to suppose Satan himself, in person, is concerned to show himself, but that some of his agents, deputies, and servants, are sent for that purpose, and directed what disguise of flesh and blood to put on, as may be suitable to the occasion.

This seems to be the only way to reconcile all those simple and ridiculous appearances, which not Satan, but his emissaries (which the old women call imps), sometimes make, and the mean and sorry employment they are put to. Thus fame tells us of a certain witch of quality, who called the Devil once to carry her over a brook, where the water was swelled with a hasty rain, and lashed him soundly with a whip, for letting her ladyship fall into the water before she was quite over. Thus, also, as fame tells us, she set the Devil to work, and made him build Crowland Abbey, where there was no foundation to be found, only for disturbing the workmen a little who were first set about it. So it seems another laborious devil was obliged to dig the great ditch across the country from the fen country to the edge of Suffolk and Essex, which, however, he has preserved the reputation of, and where it crosses Newmarket heath it is called the Devil's-ditch to this day.

Another piece of punishment, no doubt it was, when the Devil was obliged to bring the stones out of Wales into Wiltshire, to build Stonehenge. How this was ordered in those days, when it seems they kept Satan to hard labour, I know not; I believe it must be re-

gistered among the ancient pieces of art which are lost in the world, such as melting of stone, painting of glass, &c. Certainly they had the Devil under correction in those days, that is to say, those lesser sort of devils; but I cannot think that the muckle thief Devil, as they call him in the north, grand signior Devil of them all, was ever reduced to discipline. What devil it was that Dunstan took by the nose with his red-hot tongs, I have not yet examined antiquity enough to be certain of, any more than I can tell you what Devil it was that St. Francis played so many warm tricks with, and made him run away from him so often. However, this I take upon me to say in the Devil's behalf, that it could not be our Satan, the Arch-devil of all devils, of whom I have been talking so long.

Nor is it unworthy the occasion, to take notice, that we really wrong the Devil, and speak of him very much to his disadvantage, when we say, of such a great lord, or such a lady of quality, "I think the Devil is in your grace." No, no, Satan has other business, he very rarely possesses f——ls; besides, some are so very far from having the Devil in them, that they are really transmigrated into the very essence of the Devil themselves; and others again, not transmigrated or assimilated, but in deed and in truth show us, that they are or have mere native devils in every part or parcel of them, and that the rest is only mask and disguise. Thus, if rage, envy, pride, and revenge, can constitute the parts of a devil, why should not a lady of such quality, in whom all these extraordinaries abound, have a right to the title of being a devil really and substantially, and to all intents and purposes, in the most perfect and absolute sense, according to the most exquisite descriptions of devils already given by me or anybody else? And even just as Joan of Arc, or Joan Queen of Naples were; who were both sent home to their native country as soon as it was discovered that they were real devils, and that Satan acknowledged them in that quality.

Nor does my Lady D———ss's wearing sometimes a

case of humanity about her, called flesh and blood, at all alter the case; for so it is evident, according to our present hypothesis, Satan has always been allowed to do upon urgent occasions; aye, and to make his personal appearance as such even among the sons and daughters of God too, as well as among the children of men; and, therefore, her grace may have appeared in the shape of a fine lady as long as she has been supposed to do, without any impeachment of her just claim the title of devil, which, being her true and natural original, she ought not (and indeed shall not by me) be denied her shapes of honour whenever she pleases to declare for a re-assumption.

And farther, to give every truth its due illustration, this need not be thought so strange, and is far from being unjust. Her grace (as she, it may be, is now styled) has not acted, at least that ever I heard of, so unworthy her great and illustrious original, that we should think she has lost anything by walking about the world so many years in apparition; but, to give her the true homage of her quality, she has acted as consonant to the essence and nature of devil, which she has such a claim to, as was consistent with the needful reserve of her present disguise.

Nor shall we lead the reader into any mistake concerning this part of our work, as if this was or is meant to be a particular satire upon the D—— of ——, and upon her only, as if we had no devils among us, in the phenomena of fair ladies, but this one. If Satan would be so honest to us as he might be, (and it would be very ingenious in him, it must be acknowledged, to give us a little of his illumination in this case) we should soon be able to unmask a great many notable figures among us, to our real surprise.

Indeed, it is a point worth our further inquiry, and would be a discovery many ways to our advantage, were we blessed with it, to see how many real devils we have walking up and down in the world in mask, and how many hoop petticoats complete the entire mask

that disguises the Devil in the shape of that thing called woman.

As for the men, nature has satisfied herself in letting them be their own disguise, and in suffering them to act the old women, as old women are vulgarly understood in matters of councils and politics; but if at any time they have occasion for the Devil in person, they are obliged to call him to their aid in such shapes as he pleases to make use of, *pro hac vice;* and of all those shapes, the most agreeable to him seems to be that of a female of quality, in which he has infinite opportunity to act to perfection, what part soever he is called in for.

How happy are those people, who, they say, have the particular quality, or acquired habit, called the second sight! One sort of whom, they tell us, are able to distinguish the Devil, in whatever case or outside of flesh and blood he is pleased to put on, and consequently could know the Devil wherever they met him. Was I blessed with this excellent and useful accomplishment, how pleasant would it be, and how particularly would it gratify my spleen, and all that which I, in common with my fellow creatures, carry about with me, called ill-nature, to stand in the Mall, or at the entrance to any of our assemblies of beauties, and point them out as they pass by, with this particular mark,—"That is a devil,—that fine young toast is a devil,—there is a devil dressed in a new habit for the ball,—there is a devil in a coach and six," *cum aliis*, in short, it would make a merry world among us, if we could but enter upon some proper method of such discriminations. But, Lord, what a hurricane would it raise, if like ———, who, they say, scourged the Devil so often that he durst not come near him in any shape whatever, we could find some new method out to make the Devil unmask; like the angel Uriel, who, Mr. Milton says, had an enchanted spear, with which, if he did but touch the Devil, in whatever disguise he had put on, it obliged him immediately to start up and show himself in his true original shape, mere Devil as he was.

This would do nicely; and as I, who am originally a projector, have spent some time upon this study, and doubt not in a little time to finish my engine, which I am contriving, to screw the Devil out of everybody, or anybody, I question not, when I have brought it to perfection, but I shall make most excellent discoveries by it; and, besides the many extraordinary advantages of it to human society, I doubt not, but it will make good sport in the world, too; wherefore, when I publish my proposals, and divide it into shares, as other less useful projects have been done, I question not, for all the severe acts lately passed against bubbles, but I shall get subscribers enough, &c.

In a word, a secret power of discovering what devils we have among us, and where and what business we are doing, would be a vast advantage to us all; that we might know among the crowd of devils that walk about the streets, who are apparitions and who are not.

Now I, you must know, at certain intervals, when the old gentleman's illuminations are upon me, and when I have something of ecclaircissement with him, have some degrees of this discriminating second sight; and, therefore, it is no strange thing for me to tell a great many of my acquaintance that they are really devils, when they themselves know nothing of the matter. Sometimes, indeed, I find it pretty hard to convince them of it, or, at least, they are unwilling to own it; but it is not the less so for that.

I had a long discourse upon this subject one day with a beautiful young lady of my acquaintance, whom the world very much admires; and as the world judges no farther than they can see, (and how should they you would say) they take her to be, as she really is, a most charming creature.

To me, indeed, she discovered herself many ways, besides the advantage I had of my extraordinary penetration by the magic powers which I am vested with; to me, I say, she appeared a fury, a satyr, as fiery a little fiend as could possibly be dressed up in flesh. In

short, she appeared to me what she really is, a very devil. It is natural to human creatures to desire to discover any extraordinary powers they are possessed of superior to others; and this itch prevailing on me, among the rest I was impatient to let this lady know that I understood her composition perfectly well, nay, as well as she did herself.

In order to this, happening to be in the family once for some days, and having the honour to be very intimate with her and her husband too, I took an opportunity, on extraordinary occasion when she was in the height of good humour, to talk with her. You must note that, as I said, the lady was in extraordinary good humour, and there had been a great deal of mirth in the family for some days; but one evening, Sir E——, her husband, upon some very sharp turn she gave to another gentleman, which made all the company pleasant, run to her, and, with a passion of good humour, took her in his arms, and turning to me, says he, "Jack, this wife of mine is full of wit and good humour; but, when she has a mind to be smart, she is the keenest little devil in the world." This was alluding to the quick turn she had given the other gentleman.

"Is that the best language you can give your wife?" says my lady. "O, madam," says I, "such devils as you are all angels." "Ay, ay," said my lady, "I know that; he has only let a truth fly out that he does not understand." "Look ye there, now," says Sir Edward, "could anything but such a dear devil as this have said a thing so pointed. Well, well," adds he, "devil to a lady in a man's arms, is a word of divers interpretations." Thus they rallied for a good while, he holding her fast all the time in his arms, and frequently kissing her; and at last it went off all in sunshine and mirth.

But the next day (for I had the honour to lodge in the lady's father's house where it all happened), I say the next day, my lady begins with me upon the subject, and that very smartly, so that at first I did not know

whether she was in jest or earnest. "Ay, ay," says she, "you men make nothing of your wives after you have them:" alluding to the discourse with Sir Edward the night before.

"Why, madam," said I, "we men, as your are pleased to term us, if we meet with good wives, worship them, and make idols of them. What would you have more of us?"

"No, no," says she, "before you have them they are angels; but when you have been in heaven," adds she, and smiled, "then they are devils!"

"Why, madam," says I, "devils are angels you know, and were the highest sort of angels once."

"Yes," says she, very smartly, "all devils are angels, but all angels are not devils."

"But, madam," said I, "you should never take it ill to be called devil, you know."

"I know!" says she, hastily, "what do you mean by that?"

"Why, madam," said I, and looking very grave and serious, "I thought you had known that I knew it, or else I would not have said so, for I would not offend you; but you may depend I shall never discover it, unless you order me to do so for your particular service."

Upon this she looked hard and wild, and bid me explain myself.

I told her, I was ready to explain myself, if she would give me her word she would not resent it, and would take nothing ill.

She gave me her word, solemnly, she would not, though, like a true devil, she broke her promise with me all at once.

Well, however, being unconcerned whether she kept her word or not, I began by telling her that I had not long since obtained the second sight, and had some years studied magic, by which I could penetrate into many things, which to ordinary perception were invisible; and had some glasses, by the help of which I could see

nto all visionary or imaginary appearances, in a different manner than other people did.

"Very well," says she, "suppose you can, what is that to me?"

I told her that was nothing to her, any farther, than that as she knew herself to be originally not the same creature she seemed to be, but was a sublime angelic original, so, by the help of my recited art, I knew it too; and so far it might relate to her.

"Very fine," says she; "so you would make a devil of me indeed!"

I took that occasion to tell her, I would make nothing of her but what she was; that I supposed she knew well enough God Almighty never thought fit to make any human creature so perfect and completely beautiful as she was, but that such were all reserved for figures to be assumed by angels of one kind or other.

She rallied me upon that, and told me that would not bring me off, for I had not determined her for anything angelic, but a mere devil; and how could I flatter her with being handsome, and a devil, both at the same time?

I told her as Satan, whom we abusively called Devil, was an immortal seraph, and of original angelic nature, so abstracted from anything wicked, he was a most glorious being; that when he thought fit to incase himself with flesh, and walk about in disguise, it was in his power, equally with other angels, to make the form he took upon himself be as he thought fit, beautiful, or deformed.

Here she disputed the possibility of that; and, after charging me faintly with flattering her face, told me, the Devil could not be represented by anything handsome; alluding to our constant picturing the Devil in all the frightful appearances imaginable.

I told her we wronged him very much in that; and quoted St. Francis, to whom the Devil frequently appeared in the form of the most incomparable beautiful naked woman, to allure him; and what means he used

to turn the appearance into a Devil again, and how he effected it.

She put by the discourse, and returned to that of angels; and insisted, that angels did not always assume beautiful appearances; that sometimes they appeared in terrible shapes; but that, when they did not, it was at best only amiable faces, not exquisite; and that, therefore, it would not hold, that to be handsome should always render them suspected.

I told her the Devil had more occasion to form beauties than other angels had, his business being principally to deceive and ensnare mankind; and then I gave her some examples upon the whole.

I found, by her discourse, she was willing enough to pass for an angel, but it was the hardest thing in the world to convince her that she was a devil; and she would not come into that by any means.

She argued, that I knew her father, and that her mother was a very good woman, and was delivered of her in the ordinary way; and that there was such and such ladies who were present in the room when she was born; and that they had often told her so.

I told her that was nothing in such a case as hers; that when the old gentleman had occasion to transform himself into fine lady, he could easily dispose of a child, and place himself in the cradle instead of it, when the nurse or mother was asleep, nay, or when they were broad awake either, it was the same thing to him; and I quoted Luther to her upon that occasion who affirms that it had been so. However, I said, to convince her that I knew it (for I would not have it that she knew it already), if she pleased, I would go to my chamber, and fetch her my magic looking-glass, where she should see her own picture for the world to admire, but a devil also frightful enough to any but herself, and me that understood it.

"No, no," said she, "I will look in none of your conjuring glasses; I know myself well enough, and I desire to look no otherwise than I am."

"No, madam," said I, "I know that very well; nor do you need any better shape than that you appear in; it is exquisitely fine; all the knows you are a complete beauty; and that is a clear evidence what you would be, if your present appearing form was reduced to its proper personality."

"Appearing form!" says she, "why? What! would you make an apparition of me?"

"An apparition, madam," said I, "yes, to be sure? Why, you know you are nothing else but an apparition; and what else would you be, when it is so infinitely to your advantage?"

With that she turned pale and angry; and then rose up hastily, and looked into the glass, (a large pier glass being in the room) where she stood, surveying herself from head to foot, with vanity not a little.

I took that time to slip away, and running up into my apartment, I fetched my magic glass, as I called it, in which I had a hollow case so framed behind a looking-glass, that in the first she would see her own face only, in the second she would see the Devil's face, ugly and frightful enough, but dressed up with a lady's head clothes in a circle, the Devil's face in the centre, and, as it were, at a little distance behind.

I came down again so soon that she did not think the time long, especially having spent it in surveying her fair self. When I returned, I said, "Come, madam, do not trouble yourself to look there; that is not a glass capable of showing you anything; come, take this glass.

"It will show me as much of myself," says she, a little scornfully, "as I desire to see" So she continued looking in the pier glass. After some time more (for seeing her a little out of humour, I waited to see what observations she would make), I asked her if she had viewed herself to her satisfaction? She said she had, and she had seen nothing of devil about her. "Come, madam," said I, "look here;" and with that I opened the looking-glass, and she looked in it, but saw nothing

but her own face. "Well," says she, "the glasses agree well enough, I see no difference. What can you make of it?" With that I took it a little away. "Don't you," said I, "then I should be mistaken very much." So I looked in it myself, and, giving it a turn imperceptible to her, I showed it her again, where she saw the Devil indeed, dressed up like a fine lady, but as ugly and devil-like as could be desired for a Devil to be.

She started, and cried out most horribly, and told me she thought I was more of a devil than she, for that she knew nothing of all those tricks, and I did it to fright her; she believed I had raised the Devil.

I told her it was nothing but her own natural picture, and that she knew well enough, and that I did not show her to inform her of it, but to let her know that I knew it too, that so she might make no pretences of being offended when I talked familiarly to her of a thing of this nature.

"Very well, so," says she, "I am a real frightful devil, am I?"

"O, madam," said I, "don't say, am I? Why, you know what you are, don't you? A devil! aye, certainly, as sure as the rest of the world believes you are a lady."

I had a great deal of farther discourse with her upon that subject, though she fain would have beat me off it; and two or three times she put the talk off, and brought something else on, but I always found means to revive it, and to attack her on the reality of being a devil, till at last I made her downright angry, and then she showed it.

First, she cried—told me I came to affront her—that I would not talk so if Sir E—— was by—and that she ought not to be used so. I endeavoured to pacify her, and told her I had not treated her with any indecency, and would not, because, while she thought fit to walk abroad *incog.*, it was none of my business to discover her; that if she thought fit tell Sir E—— anything of the discourse, she was very welcome, or to conceal it,

(which I thought the wisest course); she should do just as she pleased, but I made no question I should convince Sir E——, her husband, that what I said was just, and that she was really so. Whether it was for her service for him to know it, was for her to consider.

This calmed her a little, and she looked hard at me a minute, without speaking a word, when on a sudden, she broke out thus:—"And you will undertake," says she, "to convince Sir E—— that he has married a devil, will you? A fine story, indeed! And what follows? Why, then, it must follow, that the child I go with (for she was big with child) will be a devil too, will it? A fine story for Sir E——, indeed! is it not."

"I don't know that, madam," said I, "that's as you order it. By the father's side," said I, "I know it will not, but what it may by the mother's side, that is a doubt I can't resolve, till the Devil and I talk further about it."

"You and the Devil talk together!" says she, and looked ruefully at me. "Why, do you talk with the Devil, then?"

"Aye, madam," said I, "as sure as ever you did yourself; besides," "said I, "can you question that? Pray, whom am I talking to now?"

"I think you are mad," says she, "why, you will make devils of all the family, it may be; and particularly I must be with child of a devil, that is certain."

"No, madam," said I, "it is not certain, as I said before, I question it."

"Why, you say I am the Devil; the child, you know, has always most of the mother in it, then that must be a devil too, I think. What else can it be?" says she.

"I can't tell that, madam," said I, "that's as you agree among yourselves; this kind does not go by generation, that is a dispute foreign to the present purpose"

Then I entered into discourse with her of the ends

and purposes for which the Devil takes up such a beautiful form as hers; and why it always gave me a suspicion, when I saw a lady handsomer than ordinary, and set me upon the search to be satisfied whether she was really a woman or an apparition—a lady or a devil; allowing all along, that her being a devil was quite out of the question.

Upon that very foot she took me up again roundly. "And so," says she, "you are very civil to me through all your discourse, for I see it ends all in that, and you take it as a thing confessed, that I am a devil! A very pretty piece of good usage, indeed!" says she, "I thank you for it."

"Nay, madam," said I, "do not take it ill of me, for I only discover to you that I know it; I do not tell it you as a secret, for you are satisfied of that another way."

"Satisfied of what?" says she, "that I am a devil? I think the Devil is in you;" and so began to be hot.

"Devil! yes, madam," said I, "without doubt a mere devil; take it as you please, I can't help that." And so I began to take it ill that she should be disgusted at opening such a well-known truth to her.

With that she discovered it all at once, for she turned fury in the very latter of it—flew into a passion—railed at me—cursed me most heartily, and immediately disappeared, which, you know, is the particular mark of a spirit or apparition.

We had a great deal of discourse besides this, relating to several other young ladies of her acquaintance, some of which, I said, were mere apparitions like herself; and told her who were so, and who not, and the reason why they were so, and for what uses and purposes; some to delude the world one way, and some another. She was pretty well pleased to hear that, but she could not bear to hear her own true character, which, however, as cunning as she was, made her act the devil at last, (as you have heard) and vanish out of my sight. I have seen her in miniature several times since; but she

proves herself still to be the devil of a lady, for she bears malice, and will never forgive me that I would not let her be an angel, but like a devil as she is, she endeavours to kill me at a distance; and, indeed, the poison of her eyes (basilisk-like) is very strong, and has a strong influence upon me; but I, that know her to be a devil, strive very hard with myself to drive the memory of her out of my thoughts.

I have had two or three engagements since this, with other apparitions of the same sex, and I find they are all alike; they are willing enough to be called angels, but the word devil does not go down at all with them; but it is all one, whenever we see an apparition, it is so natural to say we have seen the Devil, that there is no prevailing with mankind to talk any other language.

A gentleman of my acquaintance, the other day, that had courted a lady a long time, had the misfortune to come suddenly upon her, when she did not expect him, and found her in such a rage at some of her servants, that it quite disordered her, especially a footman. The fellow had done something that was indeed provoking, but not sufficient to put her into such a passion, and so out of herself; nor was she able to restrain herself when she saw her lover come in, but damned the fellow, and raged like a fury at him.

My friend did his best to compose her, and begged the fellow's pardon of her, but it would not do, nay, the poor fellow made all the submissions that could be expected, but it was the same thing, and so the gentleman, not caring to engage himself farther than became him, withdrew, and came no more to her for three days, in all which time she was hardly cool.

The next day my friend came to me, and talking of it in confidence to me, "I am afraid," says he, "I am going to marry a she-devil!" and so he told me his story. I took no notice of him, but finding out his mistress, and taking proper measures, with some of my particular skill, I soon found out that it was really so, that she was a

mere apparition; and had it not been for that accidental disorder of her passions, which discovered her inside, she might indeed have cheated any man, for she was as lovely a devil as ever was seen; she talked like an angel—sung like a syren—did everything and said everything that was taking and charming: but what then? it was all apparition, for she was a mere devil. It is true my friend married her, and though she was a devil without doubt, yet either she behaved so well, or he was good, I never could hear him find fault with her.

These are particular instances, but, alas! I could run you a length beyond all these examples, and give you such a list of devils among the gay things of the town that would frighten you to think of, and you would perfectly conclude with me, that all the perfect beauties are devils—mere apparitions; but time and paper fails, so we must only leave the men the caution, let them venture upon peril. I return to the subject.

We have a great many charming apparitions of like kind, going daily about the world, in complete masquerade; and, though we must not say so, they are in themselves mere devils—wicked, dangerous, murdering devils—that kill various ways, some basilisk-like, with their eyes; some, syren-like, with their tongues; all murderers, even from the beginning. It is true, it is a pity those pretty apparitions should be devils, and be so mischievous as they are, but since it is so, I can do no less than to advertise you of it, that you may shun the Devil, in whatever shape you meet with him.

Again, there are some half-devils, they say, like the Sagitarii, half man, half horse, or rather like the satyr, who, they say, is half a devil, half man, or like my lord bishop, who, they say, was half-headed; whether they mean half-witted or not, I do not find authors agree about it, but if they had voted him such, it had been as kind a thing as they could say of him, because it would have cleared him from the scandal of being a devil, or half a devil, for we do not find that the Devil makes any alliance with fools.

Then, as to merry devils, there is my Mr. G——, he may, indeed, have the Devil in him, but it must be said, to the credit of possession in general, that Satan would have scorned to have entered into a soul so narrow, that there was not room to hold him, or to take up with so discording a creature, so abject a scoundrel, as never made a figure among mankind greater than that of a thief or murderer, moulded up into quality, and reparee dressed *a-la-masque*, with a robe and a coronet.

Some little dog-kennel devil may, indeed, take up his quarters in or near him, and so run into and out of him, as his drum beats a call; but to him that was born a devil Satan, that never acts to no purpose, could not think him worth being possessed by anything better than a devil of a dirty quality, that is to say, a spirit too mean to wear the name of a devil, without some badge, or addition of infamy and meanness, to distinguish it by.

Thus, what devil of quality would be confined to a p——n, who, inheriting all the pride and insolence of his ancestors, without one of their good qualities—the bully, the Billingsgate, and all the hereditary ill-language of his family, without an ounce of their courage—that has been rescued five or six times from the scandal of a coward, by the bravery, and at the hazard of friends, and never failed to be ungrateful—that if ever he committed murder, did it cold blood, because nobody could prove he ever had any hot—who, possessed with a poltroon devil, was always wickeder in the dark than he durst be by daylight—and who, after innumerable passive sufferings, has been turned out of human society, because he could not be kicked or cuffed into good manners or good humour.

To say this was a devil, an apparition, or even a half-devil, would be unkind to Satan himself, since, though he (the Devil) has so many millions of inferior devils under his command, not one could be found base enough to match him, nor one devil found but what would think himself dishonoured to be employed about him.

Some merry good-for-nothing devils, we have, indeed, which we might, if we had room, speak of at large, and divert you, too, with the relation, such as my Lady Hatt's devil, in Essex, who, upon laying a joiner's mallet in the window of a certain chamber, would come very orderly and knock with it, all night, upon the window or against the wainscot, and disturb the neighbourhood, and then go away in the morning, as well satisfied as may be; whereas, if the mallet was not left, he would think himself affronted, and be as unsufferable and terrifying as possible, breaking the windows, splitting the wainscot, committing all the disorders, and doing all the damage that he was able to the house, and to the goods in it. And again, such as the drumming devil in the well, at Oundle in Northamptonshire, and such like.

A great many antique devils have been seen also, who seem to have little or nothing to do, but only to assure us, that they can appear if they please, and that there is a reality in the thing called apparition.

As to shadows of devils, and imaginary appearances, such as appear, and yet are invisible at the same time, I had thought to have bestowed a chapter upon them by themselves, but it may be as much to the purpose to let them alone, as to meddle with them. It is said our old friend Luther used to be exceedingly troubled with such invisible apparitions; and he tells us much of them, in what they call his table-talk; but, with Mr. Luther's leave, though the Devil passes for a very great liar, I could swallow many things of his own proper making, as soon as some of those I find in a book that goes by his name; particularly the story of the Devil in a basket, the child flying out of the cradle and the like.

In a word, the walking devils that we have generally among us, are of the female sex; whether it be that the Devil finds less difficulty to manage them, or that he lives quieter with them, or that they are fitter for his business than the men, I shall not now enter into a

dispute about that. Perhaps, he goes better disguised in the fair sex than otherwise. Antiquity gives us many histories of she-devils, such as we can very seldom match for wickedness among the men; such now, as in the text, Lot's daughters, Joseph's mistress, Sampson's Delilah, Herod's Herodias; these were certainly devils, or played the devil sufficiently in their turn; one male apparition, indeed, the Scripture furnishes you with, and that is Judas; for his master says expressly of him, one of you is a devil; not has the devil, or possessed of the devil; but really is a devil, or is a real devil.

How happy is it, that this great secret comes thus to be discovered to mankind? Certainly the world has gone on in ignorance a long time, and at a strange rate, that we should have so many devils continually walking about among us in human shape, and we know it not.

Philosophers tells us, that there is a world of spirits, and many learned pieces of guess-work they make at it, representing the world to be so near us, that the air, as they describe it, must be full of dragons and devils, enough to fright our imaginations with the very thoughts of them; and if they say true, it is our great felicity that we cannot see any farther into it than we do, which, if we could, would appear as frightful as hell itself; but none of those sages ever told us till now, that half the people who converse with us are apparitions, especially of the women; and among them, especially of the valuable part, the women of figure, the fair, the beautiful, or patched and painted.

This unusual phenomenon has been seen but a little, and but a little way, and the general part of mankind cannot come into the same notions about it, nay, perhaps they will all think it strange, but be it as strange as it will, the nature of the thing confirms it, this lower sphere is full of devils; and some of both sexes have given strange testimonies of the reality of their pre-existent devilism, for many ages past, though I think it never came to the height it is now.

It is true, in former times, Satan dealt much in old women, and those, as I have observed already, very ugly, ugly as a witch, black as a witch, I look like a witch, all proverbial speeches, and which testified what tools it was Satan generally worked with; and these old spectres, they tell us, used to ride through the air in the night, and upon broomsticks too, all mighty homely doings! Some say they used to go to visit their grand signior the Devil, in those nocturnal perambulations; but be that as it will, it is certain the Devil has changed hands, and that now he walks about the world clothed in beauty, covered with the charms of the lovely, and he fails not to disguise himself effectually by it; for who would think a beautiful lady could be a mask to the Devil; and that a fine face, a divine shape, and a heavenly aspect should bring the Devil in her company, nay, should be herself an apparition, a mere devil?

The inquiry is indeed worth our while, and, therefore, I hope all the enamoured beaux and boys, all the beauty-hunters and fortune-hunters, will take heed; for I suppose if they get the Devil they will not complain for want of a fortune; and there is danger enough I assure you, for the world is full of apparitions, *non rosa fine spinis;* not a beauty without a devil, the old women spectres, and the young apparitions; the ugly ones witches, and the handsome ones devils. Lord have mercy, and a X may be set on the man's door, that goes a-courting.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the cloven foot walking about the world without the Devil; viz., of witches making bargains for the Devil, and particularly of selling souls to the Devil.

I HAVE dwelt long upon the Devil in mask as he goes about the world *incog*, and especially without his cloven foot; and have touched upon some of his disguises in

the management of his interest in the world; I must say some of his disguises only, for who can give a full account of his tricks and arts in so narrow a compass as I am prescribed to?

But, as I said, that every devil has not a cloven foot, so I must add now, for the present purpose, that every cloven foot is not the Devil.

Not but that, wherever I should meet the cloven hoof, I should expect that the Devil was not far off, and should be apt to raise the posse against him, to apprehend him; yet it may happen otherwise, that is certain; every coin has its counterfeit, every art its pretender, every whore her admirer, every error its patron and every day has its devil.

I have had some thought of making a full and complete discovery of that great doubt which has so long puzzled the world; namely, whether there is any such thing as secret making bargains with the Devil; and the first positive assurance I can give you in the case is, that if there is not, it is not his fault; it is not for want of his endeavour, it is plain; if you will pardon me for taking so mean a step, as that of quoting the Scripture; I say, it is evident he would fain have made a contract with our Saviour, and he bid boldly (give him his due); namely, all the kingdoms of the world for one bend of his knee. Impudent seraph! to think the Lord should pay thee homage! How many would agree with him here for a less price! They say Oliver Cromwell struck a bargain with him, and that he gave Oliver the protectorship, but would not let him call himself king; which stuck so clore to that furioso, that the mortification spread into his soul, and it is said he died of a gangrene in the spleen. But take notice, and do Oliver justice, I do not vouch the story, neither does the bishop say one word of it.

Fame used to say, that the old famous Duke of Luxemburg made a magic compact of this kind, nay, I have heard many an (old woman) officer of the troops, who never cared to see his face, declare, that he carried

the Devil at his back. I remember a certain author of a newspaper in London, was once taken up, and they say it cost him fifty pounds for printing in his news, that Luxemburg was hump-backed. Now, if I have resolved the difficulty, namely, that he was not humped, only carried the Devil at his back; I think the poor man should have his fifty pounds again, or I should have it for the discovery.

I confess I do not well understand the compacting with such a fellow as can neither write nor read, nor do I know who is the scrivener between them, or how the indenture can be executed; but that which is worse than all the rest is, that in the first place, the Devil never keeps articles; he will contract, perhaps, and they say he is mighty forward to make conditions; but who shall bind him to the performance, and where is the penalty if he fails? If we agree with him, he will be apt enough to claim his bargain, and demand payment; nay, perhaps, before it is due; but who shall make him stand to it?

Besides, he is a knave in his dealings, for he really promises what he cannot perform; witness his impudent proposal to our Lord, mentioned above. All these kingdoms will I give Thee! Lying spirit! why they were none of thine to give, no not one of them, "for the earth is the Lord's, and the kingdoms thereof;" nor were they in his power any more than in his right; so (I have heard that) some poor dismal creatures have sold themselves to the Devil for a sum of money, for so much cash; and yet, even in that case, when the day of payment came, I never heard that he brought the money, or paid the purchase, so that he is a scoundrel in his treaties for you must trust him for your bargain, but not be able to get your money; and yet on his part, he comes for you to an hour; of which by itself.

In a word, let me caution you all, when you trade with the Devil, either get the price, or quit the bargain; the Devil is a cunning shaver, he will wriggle himself

out of the performance on his side if possible, and yet expect you should be punctual on your side. They tell you of a poor fellow in Hertfordshire that offered to sell his soul to him for a cow; and though the Devil promised, and, as they say, signed the writing, yet the poor countryman could never get the cow of him; but still, as he brought a cow to him, somebody or other came and challenged it, proving that it was lost, or stolen from him; so that the man got nothing but the name of a cow-stealer, and was, at last, carried to Hertford gaol, and condemned to be hanged for stealing two cows, one after another; the wicked fellow was then in the greatest distress imaginable, he summoned his Devil to help him out, but he failed him, as the Devil always will; he really had not stolen the cows, but they were found in his possession, and he could give no account how he came by them; at last he was driven to confess the truth, told the horrid bargain he had made, and how the Devil often promised him a cow, but never gave him one, except that, several times, in the morning early, he found a cow put into his yard, but it always proved to belong to some of his neighhours; whether the man was hanged or not, the story does not relate, but this part is to my purpose, that they that make bargains with the Devil, ought to make him give security for the performance of covenants; and whom the Devil would get to be bound for him, I cannot tell; they must look to that who make the bargain; besides, if he had not a mind to cheat or baffle the poor man, what need he have taken a cow so near home? If he has such and such powers as we talk of, and as fancy and fable furnish for him, could he not have carried a cow in the air, upon a broomstick, as well as an old woman? Could he not have stolen a cow for him in Lincolnshire, and set it down in Hertfordshire, and so have performed his bargain, saved his credit, and kept the poor man out of trouble? So that, if the story is true, as I believe it is, either it is not the Devil that makes those bargains, or the Devil has not such power as we bestow on him,

except, on special occasions, he gets a permit, and is bid go, as in the case of Job, the Gadarene hogs, and the like.

We have another example of a man's selling himself to the Devil, that is very remarkable, and that is in the Bible, too; and, even in that, I do not find what the Devil did for him in payment of the purchase price. The person selling was Ahab, of whom the text says expressly, "There was none like him, who did sell himself to work wickedness, in the sight of the Lord."—1 Kings xxi. 20 and 25. I think it might have been rendered, if not translated, in the spite of the Lord, or in defiance of God, for certainly that is the meaning of it. And now allow me to preach a little upon this text, my sermon shall be very short. Ahab sold himself! Whom did he sell himself to? I answer that question by a question; Who would buy him? Who, as we say, would give anything for him? And the answer to that is plain also; you may judge of the purchaser by the work he was to do; and he that buys a slave in the market, buys him to work for him, and to do such business as he has for him to do. Ahab was bought to work wickedness, and who would buy him for that but the Devil?

I think there is no room to doubt but Ahab sold himself to the Devil: the text is plain, that he sold himself; and the work he was sold to do, points out the master that bought him. What price he agreed with the Devil for, that, indeed, the text is silent on, so we may let it alone, nor is it much to our purpose, unless it be to inquire whether the Devil stood to his bargain or not, and whether he paid the money, according to agreement, or cheated him as he did the farmer at Hertford.

Thus, buying and selling between the Devil and us, is, I must confess, an odd stock-jobbing; and, indeed, the Devil may be said to sell the bare skin, whatever he buys; but the strangest part is, when he comes to demand the transfer, for, as I hinted before, whether he performs or not, he expects his bargain to a tittle.

There is, indeed, some difficulty in resolving how, and in what manner, payment is made. The stories we meet with in our chimney-corner histories, and which are so many ways made use of to make the Devil frightful to us, and our heirs for ever, are generally so foolish and ridiculous, as, if true or not true, they have nothing material in them, are of no signification, or else so impossible in their nature, that they make no impression upon anybody above twelve years old and under seventy, or else are so tragical, that antiquity has fabled them down to our taste, that we might be able to hear them, and repeat them with less horror than is due to them.

This variety has taken off our relish of the thing in general, and made the trade of soul-selling like our late more eminent bubbles. be taken to be a cheat, and to have little in it.

However, to speak a little more gravely to it, I cannot say but that, since by the two eminent instances of it above, in Ahab, and in Christ himself, the fact is evidently ascertained, and that the Devil has attempted to make such a bargain on one, and actually did make it with the other, the possibility of it is not to be disputed; but then I must explain the manner of it a little, and bring it down nearer to our understanding, that it may be more intelligible than it is, for as for this selling of the soul, and making a bargain to give the Devil possession, by delivery and seizing, on the day appointed, that I cannot come into by any means; no, nor into the other part, namely, of the Devil coming to claim his bargain, and to demand the soul, according to agreement, and upon default of a fair delivery, taking it away by violence, case and all, of which we have many historical relations pretty current among us, some of which, for aught I know, we might have hoped had been true, if we had not been sure they were false; and others we had reason to fear were false. because it was impossible they should be true.

The bargains of this kind, according to the best accounts we have of them, used to consist of two main

articles, according to the ordinary stipulations in all covenants, namely :—

1.—Something to be performed on the Devil's part, buying.

2.—Something to be performed on the man's part, selling.

First, the Devil's part ; this was generally some poor trifle, for the Devil generally bought good pennyworths, and oftentimes, like a complete sharper, agreed to give what he was not able to procure, that is to say, would bargain for a price he could not pay, as in the case of the Hertford man and the cow. For example, 1.—Long life ; this, though the deluded chapman has often had folly enough to contract for, the Devil never had power to make good.

And we have a famous story, how true I know not, of a wretch that sold himself to the Devil, on condition he, Satan, should assure him—

1.—That he should never want victuals.

2.—That he should never be cold.

5.—That he should always come to him when he called him.

4.—That he should let him live one-and-twenty years, and then Satan was at liberty to have him; that is, I suppose, to take him wherever he could find him.

It seems the fellow's desire to be assured of twenty-one years' life was, chiefly, that during that time he might be as wicked as he would, and yet should be sure not to be hanged, nay, to be free from all punishment. Upon this footing, it is said, he commenced rogue, and committed a great many robberies, and other villainous things. Now, it seems, the Devil was pretty true to his bargain in several of those things, particularly that two or three times, when the fellow was taken up for some petty crimes, and called for his old friend, he came and frightened the constables so, that they let the offender get away from them; but at length, having done some capital crime, a set of constables, or such-like officers, seized upon him, who were not to be frightened

with the Devil, in what shape soever he appeared, so that they carried him off, and he was committed to Newgate, or some other prison as effectual.

Nor could Satan, with all his skill, unlock his fetters, much less the prison door; but he was tried, convicted, and executed. The fellow, in this extremity, they say, expostulated with the Devil for his bargain—the term of twenty-one years, it seems, not being expired. But the Devil, it is said, shuffled with him—told him a good while he would get him out—bid him have patience, and stay a little; and thus he led him on, till he came, as it were, within sight of the gallows, that is to say, within a day or two of his execution, when the Devil cavilled upon his bargain, told him he agreed to let him live twenty-one years, and he had not hindered him, but that he did not covenant to cause him to live that time; that there was a great deal of difference between doing and suffering; that he was to suffer him to live, and that he did; but he could not make him live when he had brought himself to the gallows.

Whether this story was true or not, for you must not expect we historians should answer for the discourse between the Devil and his chaps, because we were not privy to the bargain, I say, whether it was true or not, the fancy is to our purpose several ways.

1.—It confirms what I have said of the knavery of the Devil in his dealings, and that, when he has stock-jobbed with us on the best conditions he can get, he very seldom performs his bargain.

2.—It confirms what I have likewise said, that the Devil's power is limited, with this addition, that he not only cannot destroy the life of man, but that he cannot preserve it; in short, he can neither prevent nor bring on our destruction.

I may be allowed, I hope, for the sake of the present discourse, to suppose that the Devil would have been so just to this wicked, though foolish creature, as to have saved him from the gallows if he could, but it seems he at last acknowledged that it was not in his power, nay,

he could not keep him from being taken and carried to prison, after he had got into the hands of a bold fellow or two, that were not be scared with his bluster, as some foolish creatures had been before.

And how simple, how weak, how unlike anything of angelic nature was it, to attempt to save the poor wretch only by little noises and sham appearances, putting out the candles, rushing and jostling in the dark, and the like. If the Devil was that mighty seraph which we have heard of, if he is the god of this world, a prince of the air, a spirit able to destroy cities, and make havoc in the world, if he can raise tempests and storms, throw fire about the world, and do wonderful things, as an unchained devil no doubt could do what needs all this frippery? And what need he try so many ridiculous ways, by the emptiness, nay, the silly, nonsensical manner of which he shows that he is able to do no better, and that his power is extinguished? In a word, he would certainly act otherwise if he could. *Sed caret vedibus*—he wants power.

How weak a thing is it, then, for any man to expect performance from the Devil? If he has not power to do mischief, which is his element, his very nature, and, on many accounts, is the very sum of his desires, how should he have power to do good? how power to deliver from danger or from death? which deliverance would be in itself a good, and we know it is not in his nature to do good to or for any man.

In a word, the Devil is strangely impudent, to think that any man should depend upon him for the performance of any agreement of any kind whatever, when he knows himself that he is not able, if he was honest enough, to be as good as his word.

We come next to his expecting our performance to him; though he is not so just to us, yet, it seems, he never fails to come and demand payment of us at the very day appointed. He was but a weak trader in things of this nature, who, having sold his soul to the Devil (so our old women's tales call the thing), and when the

Devil came to demand his bargain, put it off as a thing of no force, for that it was done so long ago, he thought he (the Devil) had forgot it. It was a better answer which, they tell us, a Lutheran divine gave the Devil, in the name of a poor wretch who had sold himself to the Devil, and who was in a terrible fright about his coming for his bargain, as he might well be, indeed, if the Devil has such a power as really to come and take it by force. The story (if you can hear a serious one) is this :—

The man was in a great horror of mind, and the family feared he would destroy himself. At length, they sent for a Lutheran minister to talk with him ; and who, after some labour with him, got out the truth, viz., that he had sold himself to the Devil, and that the time was almost expired, when he expected the Devil would come and fetch him away, and he was sure he would not fail coming at that time to a minute. The minister first endeavoured to convince him of the horrid crime, and to bring him to a true penitence for that part ; and having, as he thought, made him a sincere penitent, he then began to encourage him, and particularly desired of him, that when the time was come that the Devil would fetch him away, he (the minister) should be in the house with him. Accordingly, to make the story short, the time came, the Devil came, and the minister was present when the Devil came. What shape he was in, the story does not say ; the man said he saw him, and cried out ; the minister could not see him, but the man affirmed he was in the room. The minister said aloud— "In the name of God, Satan, what camest thou here for ?" The Devil answered, "I come for my own." The minister then replied, "He is not thy own, for Jesus Christ has redeemed him ; and in his name I charge you to avoid, and touch him not." At which, says the story, the Devil gave a furious stamp (with his cloven foot, I suppose), and went away, and was never known to molest him afterwards.

Another story, though it be in itself a long one, I

shall abridge, for your reading with the less uneasiness, as follows:—A young gentleman of ———berg, in the elector of Brandenburg's (now the king of Prussia's) dominions, being deeply in love with a beautiful lady, but somewhat above his fortune, and when he could by no means bring her to love him, applied himself to an old thing called a witch, for her assistance, and promised her great things if she could bring the lady to love him, or any how compass her, so as he might have his will of her, nay, at last he told her, he would give up his soul to her if she would answer his desire.

The old hag, it seems, having had some of his money, very honestly tried what she could do, but all to no pur pose, the lady would not comply. But when he offered such a great price, she told him she would consider farther against such a time, and appointed him the next evening.

At the time appointed he comes, and the witch made a long speech to him upon the nicety of the affair (I suppose to prepare him not to be surprised at what was to come), for she supposed he was not so very desperately bent as he appeared to be. She told him it was a thing of very great difficulty, but as he had made such a great offer, of selling his soul for it, she had an acquaintance in the house who was better skilled than she was in such particular things, and would treat with him farther; and she doubted not but that, both together, they might answer his end. The fellow, it seems, was still of the same mind, and told her, he cared not what he pawned or sold, if he could but obtain the lady. "Well," says the old hag, "sit still a while;" and with that she withdraws.

By and by she comes in again, with a question in her mouth. "Pray," says she, "do you seek this lady for a wife, or for a mistress? Would you marry her, or would you only lie with her?" The young man told her no, no, he did not expect she would lie with him, therefore he would be satisfied to marry her; but asks her why she put that to him? "Why, truly," says the

old hag, "my reason is very weighty, for if you would have her for your wife, I doubt we can do you no service, but if you have a mind to lie with her, the person I speak of will undertake it."

The man was surprised at that, only he objected that that this was a transient or short felicity, and that he should perhaps have her no more. The old hag bid him not fear, but that, if she once yielded to be his whore, he might have her as often as he pleased. Upon this he consents, for he was stark mad for the lady. He having consented, she told him then he should follow her, but told him, whoever he saw, he must speak to nobody but her, till she gave him leave, and that he should not be surprised, whatever happened, for no hurt should befal him. All which he agreed to, and the old woman going out, he followed her.

Being, upon this, led into another room, where there was very little light, yet enough to let him see that there was nobody in it but himself and the woman, he was desired to sit down on a chair next to a table, and the old woman clapping the door to after her, he asked her why she shut the door, and where the person was she told him of? At which she answered, "There he is," (pointing to a chair at a little distance). The young gentleman turning his head, saw a grave kind of man sitting in an elbow chair, though he said he could have sworn there was nobody in the chair when the old woman shut the door. However, having promised not to speak to anybody but the old woman, he said not a word.

By and by, the woman making abundance of strange gestures and motions, and mumbling over several things which he could not understand, on a sudden, a large wicker chair, which stood by the chimney, removes to the other end of the table which he sat by, but there was nobody in the chair. In about two minutes after the chair removed, there appeared a person sitting in that too, who (the room being, as he said, almost dark) could not be so distinguished by the eye as to see his countenance.

After some while, the first man, and the chair he sat in, moved, as if they had been one body, to the table also, and the old woman and the two men seemed to talk together, but the young man did not understand anything they said. After some time, the old witch turned to the young gentleman, told him his request was granted, but not for marriage, but the lady should love and receive him.

The witch then gave him a stick, dipped in tar at both ends, and bid him hold it to a candle, which he did, and, instead of burning like a stick, it burnt out like a torch. Then she bid him break it off in the middle, and light the other end; he did that too, and all the room seemed to be in a light flame. Then she said, "Deliver one piece here," (pointing to only one of the persons); so he gave the first fire-stick to the first man, or apparition. "Now," says she, "deliver the other here;" so he gave the other piece to the other apparition, at which they both rose up, and spoke to him words, which he said he understood not, and could not repeat, and immediately vanished, with the fire-sticks and all, leaving the room full of smoke. I do not remember that the story says anything of brimstone, or the smell of it, but it says the door continued fast locked, and nobody was left in the room but the young gentleman and the witch.

Now the ceremony being over, he asked the witch if the business was done? She said, "Yes." "Well, but," says he, "have I sold my soul to the Devil?" "Yes," says she, "you have, and you gave him possession when you delivered the two fire-sticks to him." "To him!" says he, "why, was that the Devil?" "Yes," says the old hag; at which the young man was in a terrible fright for a while, but it went off again.

"And what's next?" said he. "When shall I see the lady for whose sake I have done all this?" "You shall know that presently;" said she, and opening the door in the next room, she presents him with a most beautiful lady, but had charged him not to speak a word to

her. She was exactly dressed like, and he presently knew her to be the lady he desired, upon which he flew to her, and clasped her in his arms, but the moment he had her fast, as he thought, in his arms, she vanished out of his sight.

Finding himself thus disappointed, he upbraids the old woman with betraying him, and flew out with ill language at her, in a great rage. The Devil often deluded him thus afterwards, with shows and appearances, but still no performance. After a while, he gets an opportunity to speak with the lady herself in reality, but she was as positive in her denial as ever, and even took away all hopes of his ever obtaining her, which put him into despair, for now, he thought, he had given himself up to the Devil for nothing, and this brought him to himself, so that he made a penitent confession of his crime to some of his friends, who took great care of him, and encouraged him, and at last furnished him with such an answer as put the Devil into a fright when he came for the bargain.

For Satan, it seems (as the story says), had the impudence to demand his agreement, notwithstanding he had failed in the performance of his part. What the answer was, I do not pretend to know, but it seems it was like something what was mentioned above, viz., that he was in better hands, and that he durst not touch him.

I have heard of another person, that had actually signed a contract with the Devil, and, upon a fast kept by some Protestant or Christian divines, while they were praying for the poor man, the Devil was obliged to come and throw the contract in at the window.

But I vouch none of these stories. There may be much in them, and much use made of them, even whether exactly such in fact as they are related, or not. The best use I can make of them, is this:—If any wicked desperate wretches have made bargain and sale with Satan, their only way is to repent, if they know how, and that before he comes to claim them; then

batter him with his own guns—play religion against devilism, and, perhaps, they may drive the Devil out of their reach, at least, he will not come at them, which is as well. On the other hand, how many stories have we handed about, of the Devil's really coming, with a terrible appearance, at the time appointed, and powerfully or by violence, carrying away those that have given themselves thus up to him! nay, and sometimes a piece of the house along with them! as in the famous instance of Sudbury, anno 1662. It seems he comes with rage and fury upon such occasions, pretending he only comes to take his own, or as if he had leave given to come and take his goods, as we say, where he could find them, and would strike a terror into all that should oppose him.

The greatest part of the terror we are usually in upon this occasion, is from a supposition that, when this hell-fire contract is once made, God allows the Devil to come and take the wicked creatures, how and in what manner he thinks fit, as being given up to him by their own act and deed. But, in my opinion, there is no divinity at all in that, for in our law we punish a *felo de se*, or self-murderer, because, as the law suggests, he had no right to take away his own life; that he, being a subject of the commonwealth, the government claims a ward or custody of him; and so it was not murder only, but robbery, and is a felony against the state, robbing the king of his liege man, as it is justly called; so neither has any man a right to dispose of his soul, which belongs to his Maker in property, and in right of creation. The man, then, having no right to sell, Satan has no right to buy, or at best, he has made a purchase without a title, and consequently has no just claim to the possession.

It is, therefore, a mistake to say, when any of us have been so mad as to make such a pretended contract with the Devil, that God gives him leave to take it as his due. It is no such thing; the Devil has bought what you had no right to sell, and, therefore, as an unlawful oath is to be repented of, and broken, so your business

is to repent of the crime, and then tell the Devil you have better considered of it, and that you will not stand to your bargain, for you had no power to sell; and if he pretends to violence after that, I am mistaken; I believe the Devil knows better.

It is true our old mothers and nurses have told us other things, but they only told us what their mothers and nurses told them, and so the tale has been handed down from one generation of old women to another; but we have no vouchers for the fact, other than oral tradition, the credit of which, I confess, goes but a very little way with me; nor do I believe it one jot the more for all the frightful addenda which they generally join to the tale, for it never wants a great variety of that kind.

Thus, they tell us, the Devil carried away Dr. Faustus, and took a piece of the wall of his garden along with him. Thus, at Salisbury, the Devil (as it is said, and publicly printed) carried away two fellows that had given themselves up to him, and carried away the roof of the house with them, and the like; all of which I believe my share of. Besides, if these stories were really true, they are all against the Devil's true interest. Satan must be a fool (which is, indeed, what I never took him to be) in the main. This would not be the way to increase the number of desperadoes, who should thus put themselves into his hands, but to make himself a terror to them. And this is one of the most powerful objections, for the Devil, I say, is no fool; that must be acknowledged. He knows his own game, and generally plays it sure.

I might, before I quit this point, seriously reflect here upon our *beau monde*, viz., the gay part of mankind, especially those of the times we live in, who walk about in a composure and tranquillity inexpressible, and yet, as we all know, must certainly have all sold themselves to the Devil, for the power of acting the foolishest things with the greatest applause. It is true, to be a fool is the most pleasant life in the world, if the fool

has but the particular felicity, which few fools want, viz., to think themselves wise. The learned say it is the dignity and perfection of fools, that they never fail trusting themselves; they believe themselves sufficient and able for everything, and hence their want or waste of brains is no grievance to them, but they hug themselves in the satiety of their own wit. But to bring other people to have the same notion of them which they have of themselves, and to have their apeish and ridiculous conduct make the same impression on the minds of others as it does on their own, this requires a general infatuation, and must either be a judgment from heaven, or a mist from hell. Nothing but the Devil can make all the men of brains applaud a fool. And can any man believe that the Devil will do this for nothing? No, no, he will be well paid for it; and I know no other way they have to compound with him, but this of bargain and sale.

It is the same thing with rakes and bullies as it is with fools and beaux; and this brings me to the subject of buying and selling itself, and examine what is understood by it in the world,—what people mean by such and such a man selling himself to the Devil. I know the common acceptation of it is, that they make some capitulation for some indulgence in wickedness, on condition of safety and impunity, which the Devil promises them, though, as I have said above, he is a bite in that too, for he cannot perform the condition; however, I say, he promises boldly, and they believe him; and, for this privilege in wickedness, they consent that he shall come and fetch them for his own at such or such a time.

This is the state of the case, in the general acceptation of it. I do not really say it is so, nay, it is even an inconsistency in itself, for one would think they need not capitulate with the Devil to be so and so superlatively wicked, and give him such a price for it, seeing, unless we have a wrong notion of him, he is naturally inclined, as well as avowedly willing, to have all men be

as superlatively wicked as possibly they can, must necessarily be always ready to issue out his licences gratis, as far as his authority will go in the case, and, therefore, I do not see how the wretches that deal with him should article with him for a price; but suppose, for argument's sake, that it is so, then the next thing is, some capital crime follows the contract, and then the wretch is forsaken, for then the Devil cannot protect him as he promised, so he is trussed up, and, like Coleman at the gallows, he exclaims, "There is no truth in devils!"

It may be true, however, that under the powerful guard and protection of the Devil, men do sometimes go a great way in crime, and that, perhaps, further in these our days of boasted morals, than was known among our fathers. The only difference that I meet with between the sons of Belial in former days, and those of our age, seems to be in the Devil's management, not in theirs; the sum of which amounts to this, that Satan seems to act with more cunning, and they with less, for in the former ages of Satan's dominion, he had much business upon his hands; all his art and engines, and engineers also, were kept fully employed, to wheedle, allure, and betray, and found him, as we may say, a full employment;—I doubt not he was called the Tempter on that very account. But the case seems quite altered now; the tables are turned. Then the Devil tempted men to sin, but now, in short, they tempt the Devil; men push into crimes before he pushes them; they out-shoot him in his own bow, out-run him on his own ground and, as we say of some hot-spurs who ride post, they whip the post-boy. In a word, the Devil seems to have no business now, but to sit still and look on.

This, I must confess, seems to intimate some secret compact between the Devil and them, but then it looks not as if they had contracted with the Devil for leave to sin, but that the Devil had contracted with them that they should sin so and so, up to such a degree, and that without giving him the trouble of daily solicitation,

private management, and artful screwing up their passions, their affections, and their most retired faculties, as he was before obliged to do.

This also appears more agreeable to the nature of the thing, and as it is a most exquisite part of Satan's cunning, so it is an undoubted testimony of his success. If it was not so, he could never bring his kingdom to such an height of absolute power as he has done. This also solves several difficulties in the affair of the world's present way of sinning, which otherwise it would be very hard to understand, as particularly, how some eminent men of quality among us, whose upper rooms are not extraordinarily well furnished in other cases, yet are so witty in their wickedness, that they gather admirers by hundreds and thousands, who, however heavy, lumpish, slow, and backward, even by nature and in force of constitution; in better things, yet in their race devil-ward, they are of a sudden grown nimble, light of foot, and out-run all their neighbours; fellows that are as empty of sense as beggars are of honesty, and as far from brains as a whore is of modesty; on a sudden yon shall find them dip into polemics, study Michael Servetus, Socinius, and the most learned of their disciples; they shall reason against all religion as strongly as a philosopher; blaspheme with such a keenness of wit; and satirize God and eternity with such a brightness of fancy, as if the soul of a Rochester or a Hobbes was transmigrated into them; in a little length of time more, they banter heaven, burlesque the Trinity, and jest with every sacred thing; and all so sharp, so ready, and so terribly witty, as if they were born buffoons, and were singled out by nature to be champions for the Devil.

Whence can all this come? How is the change wrought? Who but the Devil can inject wit, in spite of natural dulness? create brains, fill empty heads, and supply vacuities in the understanding? And will Satan do all this for nothing? No, no, he is too wise for that, I can never doubt a secret compact, if there is such a thing in nature. When I see a head where there is no

head, sense in *posse* where there is no sense in *esse*, wit without brains, and sight without eyes, it is all devil-work. Could G——— write satires, who could neither read Latin or spell English, like old Sir William Read, who wrote a book of optics, which, when it was printed, he did not know which was the right side uppermost, and which the wrong! Could this eminent uninformed beau turn Atheist, and make wise speeches against that Being who made him a fool, if the Devil had not sold him some wit in exchange for that trifle of his, called soul? Had he not bartered his inside with that son of the morning, to have his tongue tipped with blasphemy, he that knew nothing of a God, but only to swear by him, could never have set up for a wit, to burlesque his providence, and ridicule his government of the world.

But the Devil, as he is god of this world, has one particular advantage, and that is, that when he has work to do, he very seldom wants instruments, with this circumstance also, that the degeneracy of human nature supplies him; as the late king of France said of himself, when they told him what a calamity was like to befal his kingdom by the famine; "Well," says the king, "then I shall not want soldiers." And it was so, want of bread supplied his army with recruits; so want of grace supplies the Devil with reprobates for his work.

Another reason why I think the Devil has made more bargains of that kind we speak of in this age, is because he seems to have laid by his cloven foot. All his old emissaries, the tools of his trade, the engineers which he employed in his mines, such as witches, warlocks, magicians, conjurers, astrologers, and all the hellish train or rabble of human devils, who did his drudgery in former days, seem to be out of work. I shall give you a fuller enumeration of them in the next chapter.

These, I say, seem to be laid aside, not his work is abated, or that his business with mankind for delusion and destruction is not the same, or perhaps more than

ever. But the Devil seems to have changed hands; the temper and genius of mankind is altered, and they are not to be taken by fright and horror, as they were then. The figures of those creatures were always dismal and horrible, and that is it what I mean by the cloven foot; but now wit, beauty, and gay things, are the sum of his craft; he manages by the soft and the smooth, the fair and the artful, the kind and the cunning, not by the frightful and the terrible, the ugly and the odious.

When the Devil for weighty dispatches,
Wanted messengers cunning and bold,
He pass'd by the beautiful faces,
And pick'd out the ugly and old;

Of these he made warlocks and witches
To run on his errands by night,
Till the over-wrought hag-ridden wretches,
Were as fit as the Devil to fright.

But whoever has been his adviser,
As his kingdom increases in growth,
He now takes his measures much wiser,
And traffics with beauty and youth.

Disguised in the wanton and witty,
He haunts both the church and the court;
And sometimes he visits the city,
Where all the best Christians resort.

Thus, dress'd up in full masquerade,
He the bolder can range up and down;
For he better can drive on his trade
In any one's name than his own.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the tools the Devil works with, viz., witches, wizards or warlocks, conjurors, magicians, diviners, astrologers, interpreters of dreams, tellers of fortunes, and above all the rest, his particular modern privy-counsellors, called wits and fools.

Though, as I have advanced in the foregoing chapter, the Devil has very much changed hands, in his modern management of the world, and that, instead of the rabble and long train of implements reckoned up above, he now walks about in beaux, beauties, wits, and fools; yet I must not omit to tell you that he has not dismissed his former regiments, but, like officers in time of peace, he keeps them all in half-pay; or, like extraordinary men at the custom-house, they are kept at a call, to be ready to fill up vacancies, or to employ when he is more than ordinary full of business; and therefore it may not be amiss to give some brief account of them from Satan's own memoirs, their performance being no inconsiderable part of his history.

Nor will it be an unprofitable digression to go back a little to the primitive institution of all these orders; for they are very ancient; and I assure you it requires great knowledge of antiquity to give a particular account of their original; I shall be very brief in it.

In order then to this inquiry, you must know that it was not for want of servants that Satan took this sort of people into his pay; he has, as I have observed in its place, millions of diligent devils at his call, whatever business, and however difficult, he had for them to do but, as I have said above, that our modern people are forwarder than even the Devil himself can desire them to be, and that they come before they are called, run before they are sent, and crowd themselves into his service; so it seems it was in those early days, when

the world was in one universal monarchy under his dominion, as I have at large described in its place.

In those days, the wickedness of the world keeping a just pace with their ignorance, this inferior sort of low-priced instruments did the Devil's work mighty well; they drudged on his black art so laboriously and with such good success, that he found it was better to employ them as tools, to delude and draw in mankind, than to send his invisible implements about, and oblige them to take such shapes and dresses as were necessary, upon every trifling occasion; which, perhaps, was more cost than worship, more pains than pay.

Having, then, a set of these volunteers in his service, the true Devil had nothing to do but to keep an exact correspondence with them, and communicated some needful powers to them, to make them be and do something extraordinary, and give them a reputation in their business; and these, in a word, did a great part of, nay, almost all the Devil's business in the world.

To this purpose, gave he them power, if we may believe old Glanville, Baxter, Hicks, and other learned consulters of oracles, to walk invisible, to fly in the air, ride upon broomsticks, and other wooden gear, to interpret dreams, answer questions, betray secrets, to talk (gibberish) the universal language, to raise storms, swell winds, bring up spirits, disturb the dead, and torment the living, with a thousand other needful tricks to amuse the world, keep themselves in veneration, and carry on the Devil's empire in the world.

The first nations among whom these infernal practices were found, were the Chaldeans; and that I may do justice in earnest, as well as in jest, it must be allowed that the Chaldeans, or those of them so called, were not conjurors or magicians, but only philosophers and studiers of nature, wise, sober, and studious men; and if we may believe some of our best writers of fame, Abraham was himself famous among them for such magic, as Sir Walter Raleigh expresses it.—*Qui contemplatione creaturarum cognovit creatorum.*

Now, granting this, it is all to my purpose, namely, that the Devil drew these wise men in, to search after more knowledge than nature could instruct them in; and the knowledge of the true God being at that time sunk very low, he debauched them all with dreams, apparitions, conjurings, &c., till he ruined the just notions they had, and made devils of them all, like himself.

The learned Senensis, speaking of this Chaldean kind of learning, gives us an account of five sorts of them You will pardon me for being so grave as to go this length back.

1. Chascedin, or Chaldeans, properly so called, being astronomers.

2. Asaphim, or magicians; such were Zoroastres, and Balaam, the son of Beor.

3. Chatumin, or interpreters of dreams and hard speeches, enchanters, &c.

4. Mecasphim, or witches, called at first prophets, afterwards, malefici, nenefici, poisoners.

5. Gazarim, or aruspices, and diviners; such as divined by the entrails of beasts, the liver in particular, mentioned in Ezekiel; or, as others called them, augurs.

Now, as to all these, I suppose I may do them no wrong if I say, however justifiable they were in the beginning, the Devil got them all into his service at last; and that brings me to my text again, from which the rest was a digression.

I. The Chascedin, or Chaldean astronomers, turned astrologers, fortune-tellers, calculators of nativities, and vile deluders of the people, as if the wisdom of the holy God was in them, as Nebuchadnezzar said of Daniel on that very account.

2. Asaphim, or magi, or magicians. Sixtus Senensis says, they were such as wrote by covenant with devils, but turned to it from their wisdom, which was to study the practical parts of natural philosophy, working admirable effects by the mutual application of natural causes.

3. The Chatumin, from being reasoners or disputers

upon difficult points in philosophy, became enchanters and conjurors. So—

4. The Mecasphim, or prophets, they turned to be sorcerors, raisers of spirits, such as wounded by an evil eye, and by bitter curses; and were afterwards famed for having familiar converse with the Devil, and were called witches.

5. The Gazarim, from the bare observing of the good and bad omens, by the entrails of beasts, flying of birds, &c., were turned to sacrists or priests of the heathen idols, and sacrificers.

Thus, I say, first or last, the Devil engrossed all the wise men of the east, for so they are called; made them all his own; and by them he worked wonders, that is, he filled the world with lying wonders, as if wrought by these men, when, indeed, it was all his own from beginning to end, and set on foot merely to propagate delusion, —impose upon blinded and ignorant men; the god of this world blinded their minds, and they were led away by the subtilty of the Devil, to say no worse of it, till they became devils themselves as to mankind, for they carried on the Devil's work upon all occasions; and the race of them still continue in other nations, and some of them among ourselves, as we shall see presently.

The Arabians followed the Chaldeans in this study, while it was kept in due bounds, and after them the Egyptians, and, among the latter, we find that Jannes and Jambres were famous for their leading Pharoah, by their pretended magic performances, to reject the real miracles of Moses; and history tells us of strange pranks the wise men, the magicians, and the soothsayers played, to delude the people, in the most early ages of the world.

But, as I say now, the Devil had improved himself, so he did then; for the Grecian and the Roman heathen rites coming on, they outdid all the magicians and soothsayers, by establishing the Devil's lying oracles, which, as a master-piece of hell, did the Devil more honour, and brought more homage to him than ever he had before, or could arrive to since.

Again, as by the setting up the oracle all the magicians and soothsayers grew out of credit, so, at the ceasing of those oracles, the Devil was fain to go back to the old game again, and take up with the agency of witches, divinations, enchantments, and conjurings, as I hinted before, answerable to the four sorts mentioned in the story of Nebuchadnezzar, viz., magicians, astrologers, the Chaldeans, and the soothsayers. How these began to be out of request, I have mentioned already; but, as the Devil has not quite given them over, only laid them aside for the present, we may venture to ask what they are, and what use he made of them when he did employ them.

The truth is, I think, as it was a very mean employment for anything that wears a human countenance to take up, so, I must acknowledge, I think it was a mean, low-priced business for Satan to take up with; below the very Devil; below his dignity as an angelic, though condemned creature; below him even as a devil, to go talk to a parcel of ugly, deformed, spiteful, malicious old women; to give them power to do mischief, who never had a will, after they entered into the state of old womanhood, to do anything else. Why the Devil always chose the ugliest old women he could find? whether wizardism made them ugly that were not so before? and whether the ugliness, as it was a beauty in witchcraft, did not increase according to the meritorious performance in the black trade? These are all questions of moment to be decided (if human learning can arrive to so much perfection) in ages to come.

Some say the evil eye, and the wicked look, were parts of the enchantment; and that the witches, when they were in the height of their business, had a powerful influence with both; that by looking upon any person they could bewitch them, and make the Devil, as the Scots express it, ride through them, booted and spurred; and that hence came that very significant saying, to look like a witch.

The strange work which the Devil has made in the

world by this sort of his agents, called witches, is such, and so extravagantly wild, that except our hope that most of those tales happen not to be true, I know not how any one could be easy to live near a widow after she was fifty and five.

All the other sort of emissaries which Satan employs, comes short of these. Ghosts and apparitions sometimes come and show themselves on particular accounts; and some of those particulars respect doing justice, repairing wrongs, preventing mischief; sometimes in matters very considerable, and on things so necessary to public benefit, that we are tempted to believe they proceed from some vigilant spirit, who wishes us well; but on the other hand, these witches are never concerned in anything but mischief; nay, if what they do pretend good to one, it issues in hurt to many; the whole tenor of their lives, their design, in general, is to do mischief, and they are only employed in mischief, and nothing else. How far they are furnished with ability suitable to the horrid will they are vested with, remains to be described.

These witches, it is said, are furnished with power suitable to the occasion that is before them, and particularly that which deserves to be considered, as prediction, and foretelling events, which, I insist, the author of witchcraft is not accomplished with himself, nor can he communicate it to any other. How, then, witches come to be able to foretel things to come, which, it is said, the Devil himself cannot know, and which, as I have shown, it is evident, he does not know himself, is yet to be determined. That witches do foretel, is certain, from the witch at Endor, who foretold things to Saul which he knew not before, namely, that he should be slain in battle the next day, which accordingly came to pass.

There are, however, notwithstanding this particular case, many instances wherein the Devil has not been able to foretel approaching events, and that in things of the utmost consequence ; and he has given certain

foolish or false answers in such cases. The Devil's priests, which were summoned in by the prophet Elijah, to decide the dispute between God and Baal, had the Devil been able to have informed them of it, would certainly have received notice from him of what was intended against them by Elijah, that is to say, that they would be all cut in pieces; for Satan was not such a fool as not to know that Baal was a non-entity, a nothing. at best a dead man, perished, and rotting in his grave; for Baal was Bel, or Belus, an ancient king of the Assyrian monarchy; and he could no more answer by fire, to consume the sacrifice, than he could raise himself from the dead.

But the priests of Baal were left of their master to their just fate, namely, to be a sacrifice to the fury of a deluded people. Hence I infer his inability, for it would have been very unkind and ungrateful in him not to have answered them, if he had been able. There is another argument here most justly against the Devil, with relation to his being under restraint, and that of greater eminence than we imagine; and it is drawn from this very passage, thus: it is not to be doubted but that Satan, who has much of the element put into his hands, as prince of the air, had a power, or was able, potentially speaking, to have answered Baal's priests by fire; fire being, in virtue of his airy principality, a part of his dominion; but he was certainly withheld by the superior hand which gave him that dominion, I mean, withheld for the occasion only; so, in another case, it was plain that Balaam, who was one of those sort of Chaldeans mentioned above, who dealt in divinations and enchantments, was withheld from cursing Israel

Some are of opinion that Balaam was not a wizard, or a dealer with the Devil, because it is said of himself, or rather he says it of himself, that he saw the visions of God, Numb. xxiv. 16, " He hath said, who heard the words of God, and knew the knowledge of the Most High, which saw the vision of the Almighty, falling

into a trance, but having his eyes open." Hence they allege he was one of their magi, which St. Agustine speaks of, *de divinatione*, who, by the study of nature, and, by the contemplation of created beings, came to the knowledge of the Creator; and that Balaam's fault was, that, being tempted by the rewards and honours that the king promised him, he intended to have cursed Israel; but when his eyes were opened, and that he saw they were God's own people, he durst not do it; they will have it, therefore, that except as above, Balaam was a good man, or at least, that he had the knowledge of the true God, and the fear of that God upon him, and that he honestly declares this, Numb. xxii. 18, " If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot go beyond the word of the Lord my God." Where, though he is called a false prophet by some, he evidently owns God, and assumes a property himself, as other prophets did; my God, and I cannot go beyond his orders; but that, which gives me a better opinion of Balaam than all this, is his plain prophecy of Christ, chap. xxiv. 17, where he calls him the star of Jacob, and declares, " I shall see him, but not now; I shall behold him, but not nigh; there shall come a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel, and shall smite the corners of Moab, and destroy all the children of Seth;" all which express not a knowledge only, but a faith in Christ; but I have done preaching, this is all by the by, I return to my business, which is the history.

There is another piece of dark practice here, which lies between Satan and his particular agents, and which they must give us an answer to when they can, which, I think, will not be in haste; and that is about the obsequious Devil submitting to be called up into visibility, whenever an old woman has her hand crossed with a white sixpence, as they call it. One would think that, instead of these vile things called witches, being sold to the Devil, the Devil was really sold for a slave to them; for how far soever Satan's residence is off this state of life, they have power, it seems, to fetch him

from home, and oblige him to come at all times at their call

can give little account of this, only that indeed so it is; nor is the thing so strange in itself, as the methods to do it are mean, foolish, and ridiculous; as making a circle and dancing in it, pronouncing such and such words, saying the Lord's prayer backward, and the like. Now, is this agreeable to the dignity of the prince of the power of the air, or atmosphere, that he should be commanded forth, with no more pomp or ceremony, than that of muttering a few words, such as the old witches and he agree about? or is there something else in it, which none of us, or themselves understand?

Perhaps, indeed, he is always with those people called witches and conjurors, or, at least, some of his *camp volant* are always present; and so, upon the least call of the wizard, it is but putting off the misty cloak, and showing themselves.

Then we have a piece of mock pageantry in bringing those things called witches or conjurors to justice; that is, first, to know if a woman be a witch, throw her into a pond, and if she be a witch she will swim, and it is not in her power to prevent it; if she does all she can to sink herself, it will not do, she will swim like a cork. Then, that rope will not hang a witch, but you must get a withe, a green osier; and if you nail a horse-shoe on the sill of the door, she cannot come into the house, or go out, if she be in; these and a thousand more, too simple to be believed, and yet are so vouched, so taken for granted, and so universally received for truth, that there is no resisting them without being thought atheistical.

What methods to take, to know who are witches, I really know not; but, on the other hand, I think there are variety of methods to be used, to know who are not. W—— G——, Esq., is a man of fame, his parts are great, because his estate is so; he has threescore and eight lines of Virgil, by rote, and they take up

many of the intervals of his merry discourses; he has just as many witty stories to please society; when they are well told, once over, he begins again, and so he lives in a round of wit and learning; he is a man of great simplicity and sincerity, you must be careful not to mistake my meaning, as to the word simplicity; some take it to mean honesty, and so do I, only that it has a negative attending it, in his particular case; in a word, W—— G—— is an honest man, and no conjuror; a good character, I think; and, without impeachment to his understanding, he may be a man of worth for all that. Take the other sex; there the Lady H—— is another discovery, bless us! what charms in that face! how bright those eyes! how flowing white her breast! how sweet her voice! add to all that, how heavenly, divinely, good her temper! how inimitable her behaviour! how spotless her virtue! how perfect her innocence! and, to sum up her character, we may add, that Lady H—— is no witch. Sure none of the beau-critics will be so unkind now as to censure me in those honest descriptions, as if I meant that my good friend W—— G——, Esq., or my adored angel, the bright, the charming Lady H—— were fools; but what will not those savages, called critics, do, whose barbarous nature inclines them to trample on the brightest characters, and to cavil on the clearest impressions?

It might be expected of me, however, in justice to my friends, and to the bright characters of abundance of gentlemen of this age, who, by the depth of their politics, and the height of their elevations, might be suspected, and might give us room to charge them with subterranean intelligence; I say, it might be expected that I should clear up their fame, and assure the world concerning them even by name, that they are no conjurors, that they do not deal with the Devil, at least, not by the way of witchcraft and divination; such as Sir T——k, E—— B——, Esq.; my Lord Homily, Colonel Swagger, Jeoffrey, Wellwith, Esq., Captain Harry Godeeper, Mr. Welcome Woollen, citizen and

merchant-tailor of London, Henry Cadaver, Esq., the D—— of Caersilly, the Marquis of Sillyhoo, Sir Edward Through-and-through., Bart., and a world of fine gentlemen more, whose great heads and weighty understandings, have given the world such occasion to challenge them with being, at least descended from the magi, and, perhaps, engaged with old Satan, in his politics and experiments; but I that have such good intelligence among Satan's ministers of state, as is necessary to the present undertaking, am thereby well able to clear up their characters; and I doubt not but they will value themselves upon it, and acknowledge their obligations to me, for letting the world know the Devil does not pretend to have had any business with them, or have enrolled them in the list of his operators; in a word, that none of them are conjurors. Upon which testimony of mine, I expect they will be no longer charged with, or so much as suspected of having an unlawful quantity of wit, or having any sorts of it about them, that are contraband or prohibited; but, that for the future they pass umolested, and be taken for nothing but what they are, viz., very worthy, honest gentlemen.

CHAPTER X.

Of the various methods the Devil takes to converse with mankind.

Having spoken something of persons, and particularly of such as the Devil thinks fit to employ in his affairs in the world, it comes next, of course, to say something of the manner how he communicates his mind to them, and by them, to the rest of his acquaintance in the world.

I take the Devil to be under great difficulties in his affairs on his part, occasioned especially by the bounds which are set him, or which policy obliges him to set

to himself, in his access to the conversing with mankind; it is evident he is not permitted to fall on them with force and arms, that is to say, to muster up his infernal troops, and attack them with fire and sword; if he was loose, to act in this manner, as he was able, by his own seraphic power, to have destroyed the whole race, and even the earth they dwelt upon, so he would certainly, and long ago, have effectually done it; his particular interests and inclinations are well enough known.

But, in the next place, as he is thus restrained from violence, so prudentials restrain him, in all his other actings with mankind; and, being confined to stratagems, and soft, still methods, such as persuasion, allurements, feeding the appetite, prompting, and then gratifying corrupt desires, and the like; he finds it for his purpose not to appear in person, except very rarely, and then in disguise; but to act all the rest in the dark, under the vizor of art and craft, making use of persons and methods concealed, or at least not fully understood or discovered.

As to the persons whom he employs, I have taken some pains, you see, to discover some of them; but the methods he uses with them, either to inform, and instruct, and give orders to them, or to converse with other people by them, these are very particular, and deserve some place in our memoirs, particularly as they may serve to remove some of our mistakes, and to take off some of the frightful ideas we are apt to entertain, in prejudice of this great manager; as if he was no more to be matched in his politics than he would be to be matched in his power if it was let loose, which is so much a mistake, that on the contrary, we read of several people, that have abused and cheated the Devil, a thing which I cannot say is very honest or just, notwithstanding the old Latin proverb, "*Fallere, fallentem, non est fraus*," which men construe, or rather render, by way of banter upon Satan, "it is no sin to cheat the Devil;" which, for all that, upon the whole, I deny;

and allege, that, let the Devil act how he will by us, we ought to deal fairly by him.

But to come to the business without circumlocutions; I am to inquire how Satan issues out his orders, gives his instructions, and fully delivers his mind to his emissaries, of whom I mentioned some in the title to chapter ix. In order to this, you must form an idea of the Devil's sitting in great state, in open campaign, with all his legions about him, in the height of the atmosphere; or, if you will, at a certain distance from the atmosphere, and above it, that the plan of his encampment might not be hurried round its own axis, with the earth's diurnal motion, which might be some disturbance to him.

By this fixed situation, the earth performing its rotation, he has every part and parcel of it brought to a direct opposition to him, and, consequently, to his view once in twenty-four hours. The last time I was there, if I remember right, he had this quarter of the world, which we call Christendom, just under his eye; and the motion is not so swift, but that his piercing optics can take a strict view of it *en passant;* for the circumference of it being but twenty-one thousand miles, and its circular motion being full twenty-four hours performing, he has something more than an hour to view every thousand miles, which, to his supernatural penetration, is not worth naming.

As he thus takes a daily view of all the circle, and an hourly view of the parts, he is fully master of all transactions, at least such as are done above board by all mankind; and then he dispatches his emissaries, aid-de-camps, to every part, with his orders and instructions; now these emissaries, you are to understand, are not the witches and diviners who I spoke of above, for I call them also emissaries, but they are all devils, or (as you know they are called), devil's angels; and these may, perhaps, come and converse personally with the sub-emissaries I mention, to be ready for their support and assistance, on all occasions of business; these are

those devils which the witches are said to raise ; for we can hardly suppose the master-devil comes himself, at the summons of every ugly old woman.

These run about into every nook and corner, whereever Satan's business calls them, and are never wanting to him, but are the most diligent devils imaginable ; like the Turkish Chiaux, they no sooner receive their errand, but they execute it with the utmost alacrity ; and as to their speed, it may be truly written as a motto upon the head of every individual devil—

Non indiget calcaribus.

These are those, whom, they tell us, our witches, sorcerors, wizards, and such sorts of folks converse freely with, and are therefore called their familiars ; and as they tell us, come to them in human shapes, talk to them with articulate, plain voices, as if men ; and that yet the said witches, &c., know them to be devils.

History has not yet enlightened us in this part of useful knowledge, or at least not sufficiently for a description of the persons or habits of these sorts of appearances, as what shapes they take, what language they speak, and what particular works they perform, so we must refer it to further inquiry ; but, if we may credit history, we are told many famous stories of those appearances ; for example, the famous Mother Lakeland, who was burnt for a witch at Ipswich, anno 1646, confessed at the time of her execution, or a little before it, that she had frequent conversation with the Devil himself ; that she, being very poor, and withal of a devilish, passionate, cruel, and revengeful disposition before, used to wish she had it in her power to do such and such mischievous things to some that she hated ; and that the Devil himself, who it seems knew her temper, came to her one night as she lay in her bed, and was between sleeping and waking, and speaking in a deep hollow voice, told her, " If she would serve him in some things he employed her to do, she would have her will of all her enemies, and should want for

nothing;" that she was much afraid at first, but he soliciting her very often, bade her not to be afraid of him, and still urged her to yield, and, as she says, struck his claw into her hand; and though it did not hurt her, made it bleed, and with the blood wrote the covenant, that is to say, the bargain between them. Being asked what was in it, and whether he required her to curse or deny God or Christ, she said, no.

N.B.—I do not find she told them, whether the Devil wrote it with a pen, or whether on paper or parchment, or whether she signed it or not: but it seems he carried it away with him. I suppose if Satan's register was examined, it might be found among the archives of hell, the rolls of his *acta publica;* and when his historiographer royal, publishes them, we may look for it among them

Then he furnished her with three devils (to wait upon her, I suppose), for she confessed they were to be employed in her service. They attended in the shapes of two little dogs and a mole. The first she bewitched was her husband, and he lay a great while in misery, and died; then she sent to one Captain Beal, and burnt a new ship of his just built, which had never been at sea. These, and many other horrid things, she did and confessed; and having been twenty years a witch, at last the Devil left her, and she was burnt, as she deserved.

That some extraordinary occasions may bring these agents of the Devil, nay, sometimes the Devil himself, to assume human shapes, and appear to other people we cannot doubt. He did thus in the case of our Saviour as a tempter, and some think he did so to Manasses as a familiar, whom the Scripture charges with sorcery, and having a familiar or devil. Fame tells us that St. Dunstan frequently conversed with nim, and finally took him by the nose, and so of others.

But in these modern ages of the world, he finds it

much more to his purpose to work under ground, as I have observed, and to keep upon the reserve; so that we have no authentic accounts of his personal appearance, but what are very ancient, or very remote from our faith, as well as our inquiry.

It seems to be a question that would bear some debating, whether all apparitions are not devils, or from the Devil? But there being so many of these apparitions, which we call spirits, which really assume shapes, and make appearances in the world, upon such accounts, as, we know, Satan himself scorns to be employed in, that I must dismiss the question in favour of the Devil; assuring them that as he never willingly did any good in his life, so he would be far from giving himself the trouble of setting one foot into the world on such an errand; and for that reason, we may be sure those certain apparitions, which we are told came to detect a murderer in Gloucestershire, and others who appeared to prevent the ruining an orphan, for want of finding a deed that was not lost, was certainly some other power equally concerned, and not the Devil.

On the other hand, neither will it follow that Satan never appears in human shape; for though every apparition may not be the Devil, yet it does not follow that the Devil never makes an apparition. All I shall say to it is, as I have mentioned before, that, generally speaking, the Devil finds more for his purpose to have his interest propagated another way, namely in private; his personal appearances are reserved for things only of extraordinary consequence, and, as I may say, of evident necessity, where his honour is concerned, and where his interest could be carried on no other way; nor forgetting to take notice that this is very seldom.

It remains then to inquire, what then those things are which we make so much stir about, and which are called apparitions, or spirits assuming human shapes, and showing themselves to people on particular occasions? Whether they are evil spirits or good? And though, indeed, this is out of my way at this time,

and does not relate at all to the Devil's history, yet I thought it not amiss to mention it.

1. Because, as I have said, I do not wholly exclud Satan from all concern in such things; and

2. Because I shall dismiss the question with so very short an answer, namely, that we may determine which are, and which are not the Devil's, by the errands they come upon; every one to his own business. If it comes on a good errand, you may certainly acquit the Devil o it, conclude him innocent, and that he has no hand in it. If it comes on a wicked and devilish errand, you may even take him up upon suspicion; it is ten to one but you find him at the bottom of it.

Next to apparitions, we find mankind disturbed by abundance of little odd reserved ways, which the Devil is shrewdly suspected of having a hand in; such as dreams, noises, voices, &c., smells of brimstone, candles burning blue, and the like.

As to dreams I have nothing to say in Satan's prejudice at all there. I make no question but he deals very much in that kind of intelligence; and why should he not? We know Heaven itself formerly conversed very often with the greatest of men by the same methods; and the Devil is known to mimic the methods as well as the actions of his Maker. Whether Heaven has not quite left off that way of working, is not certain, but we pretty well know the Devil has not left it; and I believe some instances may be given, where his worship has been really seen and talked to in sleep as much as if the person had been awake with his eyes open.

These are to be distinguished too, pretty much by the goodness or badness of the subject. How often have men committed murder, robbery, and adultery in a dream; and at the same time, except an extraordinary agitation of the soul, and expressed by extraordinary noises in the sleep, by violent sweating, and other such way, the head has never been removed from the pillow, or the body so much as turned in the bed!—Whether

in such cases, the soul, with all the passions and affections being agitated, and giving their full assent to the facts of what kind soever, the man is not as guilty as if the sins so dreamed of his committing, had been actually committed? Though it be no doubt to me but that it is so, yet, as it is foreign to the present affair, and not all relating to the Devil's history, I leave it to the reverend doctors of the church, as properly belonging to them to decide.

I knew a person whom the Devil so haunted with naked women, fine beautiful ladies in bed with him, and ladies of his acquaintance, too, offering their favours to him, and all in his sleep, that he seldom slept without some such entertainment The particulars are too gross for my story; but he gave me several long accounts of his night amours, and being a man of a virtuous life and good morals, it was the greatest surprise to him imaginable; for you cannot doubt but that the cunning Devil made everything to be acted to the life with him, and in a manner the most wicked. He owned with grief to me, that the very first attack the Devil made upon him, was with a very beautiful lady of his acquaintance whom he had been really something freer than ordinary with in their common conversation. The lady he brought to him in a posture for wickedness; and wrought up his inclinations so high in his sleep, that he, as he thought, actually went about to debauch her, she not resisting; but that he waked in the very moment to his particular satisfaction.

He was greatly concerned at this part, namely, that he really gave the consent of his will to the fact, and wanted to know, if he was not as guilty of adultery as if he had lain with her. Indeed, he decided the question against himself so forcibly, that I, who was of the same opinion before, had nothing to say against it. However, I confirmed him in it, by asking him these questions:—

1. Whether he did not think the Devil had the chief

hand in such a dream? He answered, "It could certainly be nobody else; he must be the Devil!"

2. I then asked him, what reason the Devil could have for it, if his consent to the fact in his sleep had not been criminal? "That is true indeed," says he, "I am answered." But then he asked another question, which I confess is not easy to answer, namely, how he should prevent being served so again.

Nor could all my divinity, or his own, keep the Devil from attacking him again. On the other hand, as I have said, he worried him to the degree, that he injured his health, bringing naked women to him; sometimes one, sometimes another,—sometimes in one posture of lewdness, sometimes in another,—sometimes into his very arms,—sometimes with such additions, as I am not merry enough, and sometimes, such as I am not wicked enough, to put into your heads. The man, indeed, could not help it; so the Devil was more faulty than he; but, as I hinted to him, he might bring his mind to such a stated habit of virtue, as to prevent its assenting to any wicked motion even in sleep, and that would be the way to put an end to the attempt; and this advice he relished very well, and practised, I believe, with success.

By this same method, the same Devil injects powerful incentives to other crimes, provokes avarice, by laying a great quantity of gold in your view, and nobody present; giving you an opportunity to steal it, or some of it, at the same time, perhaps, knowing your circumstances to be such, as that you are at that time in great want of the money.

I knew another, who, being a tradesman, and in great distress for money in his business, dreamed that he was walking all alone in a great wood, and that he met a little child with a bag of gold in its hand, and a fine necklace of diamonds on its neck. Upon the sight, his wants presently dictated him to rob the child, the little innocent creature (just so he dreamed), not being able to resist, or to tell who it was. Accordingly he con-

sented to take the money from the child, and to take the diamond necklace from it too, and did so.

But the Devil (a full testimony, as I told him, that it was the Devil), not contented with that, hinted to him that, perhaps the child might some time or other know him, and single him out, by crying, or pointing, or some such thing, especially if he was suspected, and shown to it; and therefore it would be the better for him to kill the child, prompting him to kill it for his own safety, and that he need do no more but twist the neck of it a little, or crush it with his knee. He told me he stood debating with himself, whether he should do so or not; but that in an instant, his heart struck him with the word murder, and he entertained an horror of it, refused to do it, and immediately awaked.

He told me that when he waked, he found himself in so violent a sweat, as he had never known the like; that his pulse beat with that heat and rage, that it was like a palpitation of the heart to him; and that the agitation of his spirits was such, that he was not fully composed in some hours, though the satisfaction and joy that attended him when he found it was but a dream, assisted much to bring back his spirits to their due temperament.

It is neither my business or inclination to turn divine here, nor is the age I write to sufficiently grave to relish a sermon, if I was disposed to preach, though they must allow the subject would very well bear it; but I shall only ask them, if they think this is not the Devil, what do they think it is? If they believe it is the Devil, they will act accordingly, I hope, or let it alone, as Satan and they can agree about it.

I should not oblige the Devil overmuch whatever I might do to those who read it, if I should enter here upon a debate of interests, viz., to inquire whether the Devil has not a vast advantage upon mankind this way; and whether it is not much his interest to preserve it? And if I approve the affirmative, I leave it to you to inquire, whose interest it is to disappoint and supplant him.

In short, I take dreams to be the second best of the advantages the Devil has over mankind; the first I suppose you all know, viz., the treachery of the garrison within. By dreams, he may be said to get into the inside of us without opposition; here he opens and locks without a key, and, like an enemy laying siege to a fortified city, reason and nature, the governors of the city, keep him out by day, and preserve the garrison true to their duty; but in the dark he gets in, and parleys with the garrison (the affections and passions); debauches their loyalty, stirring them up to disloyalty and rebellion; so they betray their trust, revolt, mutiny, and go over to the besieger.

Thus he manages his interest, I say, and insinuates himself into the inside of us without our consent, nay, without our knowledge; for whatever speculation may do, it is evident demonstration does not assist us to discover which way he gets access to the soul, while the organ, tied up, and dosed with his sleep, has locked it up from action. That it is so is clear; but how he does it, is a secret which I do not find the ancients or moderns have yet made a discovery of.

That devil of a creature, Mother Lakeland, whose story I mentioned above, acknowledged that the first time the Devil attempted to draw her in to be a witch, was in a dream; and when she consented, she said she was between sleeping and waking, that is, she did not know whether she was awake or asleep; and the cunning devil it seems, was satisfied with her assent, given when she was asleep, or neither asleep nor awake; so taking the advantage of her incapacity to act rationally.

The stories of her bewitching several people, and the manner in which they died, are so formidable and extravagant, that I care not to put any one's faith to the stretch about them, though published by authority, and testified by abundance of witnesses; but this is recorded in particular, and to my purpose (whether from her own mouth or not, I do not say), namely, a description of a

witch, and difference between witches and those of Satan's other acquaintances, who act in his name.

1. They have consulted and covenanted with a spirit or devil.

2. They have a deputy devil, sometimes several, to serve and assist them.

3. These they employ as they please, call them by name, and command their appearance in whatever shape they think fit.

4. They send them abroad to, or into the persons whom they design to bewitch; whom they always torment, and often murder them, as Mother Lakeland did several.

As to the difference between the several devils that appear, it relates to the office of the persons who employ them; as conjurors, who seem to command the particular devil that waits upon them, with more authority, and raise them or lay them at pleasure, drawing circles, casting figures, and the like; but the witch, in a more familiar manner, whispers with the Devil, keeps him in a bag or sack, sometimes in her pocket, and the like, and, like Mr. Faux, shows tricks with him.

But all these kinds deal much in dreams, talk with the Devil in their sleep, and make other people talk with him in their sleep too; and it is on this occasion I mention it here. In short, the Devil may well take this opportunity with mankind, for not half the world that came into his measures would comply, if they were awake; but of that hereafter.

And yet his thus insinuating himself by dreams does not seem sufficient, in my opinion, to answer the Devil's end, and to carry on his business; and therefore we must be forced to allow him a kind of actual possession, in particular cases, and that in the souls of some people, by different methods from others. Luther is of the opinion, that the Devil gets a familiarity with some souls, just at, or rather, before their being embodied. As to the manner and methods how he gets in, that is another question, and may be spoken of by itself;

besides, why may not he, who, at Satan's request to enter into the herd of swine, said, "Go," give the same commission to possess a sort of creatures so many degrees below the dignity of the Gadarenian swine, and open the the door too? But as for that, when our Lord said "Go," the Devil never inquired which way he should get in.

When, then, I see nations, or, indeed, herds of nations, set on fire of hell, and, as I may say, inflamed by the Devil; when I see towns, parties, factions, and rabbles of people visibly possessed, it is enough to me that the great Master of the devils has said to him, "Go;" there is no need to inquire which way he finds open, or at what postern gate he gets in. As to his appearing, it is plain he often gets in without appearing, and therefore the question about his appearing still remains a doubt and is not very easy to be resolved

In the Scripture we have some light into it, and that is all the help I find from antiquity; and it goes a great way to solve the phenomena of Satan's appearing. What I mean by the Scripture giving some light to it, is this: it is said in several places, and of several persons, God came to them in a dream, Gen. xx. 3, "God came to Abimelech in a dream by night." Gen. xxxi. 24. And came to Laban, the Syrian, in a dream." Matth. ii. 13. "The angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream." Short comments are sufficient to plain texts. Applying this to my friend, when he wanted to be satisfied relating to his dream, viz., how he should come to dream such wicked things? I told him, in short, the case was plain, the Devil came to him in a dream by night,—how and in what manner he formed the wicked representations, and spread debauched appearances before his fancy, by real whispers and voice, according to Milton, or by what other methods, the learned are not arrived to any certainty about it.

This leads me necessarily to inquire, whether the Devil, or some of his agents, are not always in our company? Whether they make any visible appearance or

not? For my part I make no question of it. How else could he come at the knowledge of what we do? For as I can allow him no prescience at all, as, for many reasons I have observed already, he must be able to see and know us, and what we are about, when we know nothing of him, or else he could know nothing of us and our affairs, which yet we find otherwise; and thus gives him infinite advantage to influence our actions, to judge of our inclinations, and to bring our passions to clash with our reason, as they often do, and get the better of it too.

All this he obtains, by his being able to walk about invisible, and see when he is not seen, of which I have spoken already. Hence that most wise and solid suggestion, that when the candles burn blue the Devil is in the room, which great secret in nature, that you may more fully be convinced of its imaginary reality, I must tell you the following story, which I saw in a letter directed to a particular friend. Take it word for word, as in the letter, because I do not make myself accountable for the facts, but take them as *ad referendum*.—

"Sir,

"We had one day, very early in the morning, and for the most part of the day, a great deal of rain, with a high wind, and the clouds very thick and dark all day.

"In the evening, the cloudy, thick weather continued, though not the rain, when, being in a friend's house in —— lane, London, and several ladies and some gentlemen in the room, besides two or three servants (for we had been eating), the following interlude happened for our entertainment:—

"When the cloth was taken away, two large candles were brought upon the table, and placed there, with some bottles and glasses for the gentlemen, who, it seems, were intending to drink and be very merry. Two large wax candles were also set on another table, the ladies being going to cards; there were, also, two

large candles in sconces over or near the chimney, and one more in a looking-glass sconce, on a pier by the window.

"With all this apparatus, the company separating, sat down; the gentlemen at their table, and the ladies at theirs, to play as above; when, after some time, the gentleman of the house said hastily to the servant, 'What a p— ails the candles?' and, turning to the servant, raps out an oath or two, and bids him snuff the candles, for they burnt as if the Devil was in the room.

"The fellow going to snuff one of the candles, snuffs it out, at which, his master being in a passion, the fellow lights it again immediately at the other candle, and then, being in a little hurry going to snuff the other candle, snuffed that out too.

"The first candle being re-lighted (as is usual in such cases), burned dim and dull for a good while, and the other being out, the room was much darker than before; then a wench that stood by the ladies' table, bawls out to her mistress, 'La! madam, the candles burn blue!' An old lady that sat by says, 'Aye, Betty, so they do.' Upon this, one of the ladies starts up— 'Mercy upon us,' says she, 'what is the matter?' In this unlucky moment, another servant, without orders, went to the great pier sconce, and, because as he thought he would be sure to snuff the candle well, he offers to take it down, but very unhappily, I say, the hook came out, down falls the sconce, candle and all, and the looking-glass broke all to pieces, with a horrible noise. However, the candle falling dully, and, as is usual in such cases, all on one side, Betty cries out again, 'La! madam, that candle burns blue too!' The very moment she said this, the footman that had thrown down the sconce, says to his fellow servant that came to his assistance, 'I think the Devil is in the candles to night!' and away he runs out of the room, for fear of his master.

"The old lady, who, upon the maid Betty's notion

of the candles burning blue, had her head just full of that old chimney-corner story, the candles burn blue when the spirits are in the room, heard the footman say the word devil, but heard nothing else of what he said. Upon this, she rises up in a terrible fright, and cries out that the footman said the Devil was in the room! As she was indeed frightened out of her wits, she frightened the ladies most terribly, and they all started up together, down goes the card table, and put the wax candles out.

"Mrs. Betty, that had frightened them all, runs to the sconce next the chimney, but that having a long snuff, she cried out it burnt blue too, and she durst not touch it! In short, though there were three candles left still burning in the room, yet the ladies were all so frightened, that they and the maids too ran out of the parlour, screaming like mad folks. The master, in a rage, kicked his first man out of the room, and the second man was obliged to run out to avoid, as I said before, the like, so that no servant was to be had, but all was in confusion.

"The two other gentlemen, who were sitting at the first table, kept their seats composed and easy enough, only concerned to see all the house in such a fright. It was true, they said, the candles turned dim and very oddly, but they could not perceive they burnt blue, except one of those over the chimney, and that on the table, which was re-lighted after the fellow had snuffed it out.

"However, the maid, the old lady, and the footman that pulled down the sconce, all insisted that the candles burned blue, and all pretended that the Devil was certainly in the room, and was the occasion of it, and they now came to me with the story, to desire my opinion of it."

This puts me upon inquiry into the notion of the candles burning blue when spirits are in the room; which, upon all the search into things that I am able

to make, amounts to no more than this, that upon any extraordinary emission of sulphurous or nitrous particles, either in a close room, or in any place not very open, if the quantity be great, a candle or lamp, or any such little blaze of fire, will seem to be, or to burn blue; and if, then, they can prove that any such effluvia attends, or is emitted from a spirit, then when Satan is at hand it may be so.

But then it is begging the question grossly, because no man can assure us that the Devil has any sulphurous particles about him.

It is true, the candles burn thus in mines and vaults and damp places; and it is true, that they will do so upon occasion of very damp, stormy, and moist air, when an extraordinary quantity of vapours are supposed to be dispersed abroad, as was the case when this happened; and if there was anything of that in it on that Monday night, the candles might perhaps burn blue upon that occasion; but that the Devil was abroad upon any extraordinary business that night, that I cannot grant, unless I have some better testimony than the old lady that heard the footman's outcry by halves, or than Mrs. Betty, who first fancied the candles burned blue; so I must suspend my judgment till I hear further.

This story, however, may solve a great many of those things which pass for apparitions in the world, and which are laid to the Devil's charge, though he may really know nothing of the matter; and this would bring me to defend Satan in many things, wherein he may truly be said to suffer wrongfully; and if I thought it would oblige him, I might say something to his advantage this way; however, I will venture a word or two for an injured devil, take it as you will.

First, it is certain, that as this invisibility of the Devil is very much to our prejudice, so the doctrine of his invisibility is a great prejudice to him as we make use of it.

By his invisibility he is certainly vested with infinite

advantages against us; while he can be present with us, and we know nothing of the matter, he informs himself of all our measures, and arms himself in the best and most suitable manner to injure and assault us, as he can counteract all our secret concerted designs, disappoint all our schemes, and, except when Heaven apparently concerns itself to over-rule him, can defeat all our enterprises, break all our measures, and do us mischief almost in every part of life; and all this, because we are not as privy to his motions as he is to ours.

But now for his visibility, and his real appearance in the world, and particularly among his disciples and emissaries, such as witches, and wizards, demoniacs, and the like; here I think Satan has a great deal of loss, suffers manifest injury, and has great injustice done him, and that therefore I ought to clear this matter up a little, if it be possible, to do justice to Satan, and set matters right in the world about him, according to that useful old maxim of setting the saddle upon the right horse, or giving the Devil his due.

First, as I have said, we are not to believe every idle head who pretends even to converse face to face with the Devil, and who tells us they have thus seen him, and been acquainted with him every day; many of these pretenders are manifest cheats; and however they would have the honour of a private interest in him, and boast how they have him at their beck—can call him away, and send him back as they please—raise him, and lay him, when, and how, and as often as they find for their purpose—I say, whatever boasts they make of this kind, they really have nothing of truth in them.

Now the injuries and injustice done to the Devil, in these cases, are manifest; namely, that they entitle the Devil to all the mischief they are pleased to do in the world; and if they commit a murder or a robbery, fire a house, or do any act of violence in the world, they presently are said to do it by the agency of the Devil, and the Devil helps them; so Satan bears the

reproach, and they have all the guilt; this is, first, a grand cheat upon the world, and, secondly, a notorious slander upon the Devil; and it would be a public benefit to mankind to have such would-be devils as these turned inside out, that we may know when the Devil was really at work among us, and when not; what mischiefs were of his doing, and which were not; and that these fellows might not slip their necks out of the halter, by continually laying the blame of their wickedness upon the Devil.

Not that the Devil is not very willing to have his hand in any mischief, or in all the mischief that is done in the world, but there are some low-priced rogueries that are too little for him—beneath the dignity of his operation, and which is really a scandal to the Devil to charge upon him. I remember the Devil had such a cheat upon him in East Smithfield once, where a person pretended to converse with the Devil face to face, and that in open day too, and to cause him to tell fortunes, foretel good and evil, &c.; discover stolen goods; tell who they were who stole them, and how to find them again; nay, and even to find out the thieves; but Satan was really slandered in the case; the fellow had no more to do with the Devil than other people, and perhaps not so much neither. This was one of those they call cunning men, or at least he endeavoured to pass for such a one; but it was all a cheat.

Besides, what had the Devil to do to detect thieves, and restore stolen goods? Thieving and robbing, trick and cheat, are part of the craft of his agency, and of the employments which it is his business to encourage; they greatly mistake him, who think he will assist anybody in surpassing and detecting such laudable arts, and such diligent servants.

I will not say but the Devil, to draw these people we call cunning men into a snare, and to push on his farther designs, may encourage them privately, and in a manner that they themselves know nothing of, to make use of his name, and abuse the world about him,

till at last they may really believe they do deal with the Devil, when, indeed, it is only he who deals with them, and they know nothing of the matter.

In other cases, he may encourage them in those little frauds and cheats, and give them leave, as above, to bring them afterwards, and by degrees, to have a real acquaintance with him; so bringing their jest of their trade into earnest, till at length, prompting them to commit some great villany, he secures them to be his own, by their very fear of his leaving them to be exposed to the world; that he puts a Jonathan Wild upon them, and makes them be the very wretches they only pretended to be before. So old Parsons, of Clithroe, as fame tells us, was twenty-five years a cunning man, and twenty-two years a wizard; that is to say, for five-and-twenty years he was only pretending to deal with the Devil, when Satan and he had no manner of acquaintance, and he only put his legerdemain upon the people in the Devil's name, without his leave; but at length, the Devil's patience being tired quite out, he told the old counterfeit, that, in short, he had been stalking-horse long enough, and that now, if he thought fit to enter himself, and take a commission, well and good, and he should have a lease to carry on his trade for so many years more, to his heart s content; but if not, he would expose his knavery o the world, for that he should take away his people's trade no longer; but that he (Satan) would set up another in his room that should make a mere fool of him, and carry away all his customers.

Upon this the old man considered upon it, took the Devil's counsel, and listed in his pay; so he that had played his pranks twenty-five years as conjuror, when he was no more a conjuror, he was then forced really to deal with the Devil, for fear the people should know he did not. Till now he had, ambidexter, cheated the Devil on one hand, and the people on the other; but the Devil gained his point at last, and so he was a real wizard ever after.

But this is not the only way the Devil is injured neither; for we have often found people pretend upon him in other cases, and of nearer concern to him a great deal, and in articles more weighty, as, in particular, in the great business of possession. It is true, this point is not thoroughly understood among men, neither has the Devil thought fit to give us those illuminations about it, as I believe he might do; particularly that great and important article is not, for aught I can see, rightly explained; namely, whether there are not two several kinds of possession; viz., some wherein the Devil possesses us, and some in which we really possess the Devil; the nicety of which, I doubt this age, with all its penetration, is not qualified to explain; and a dissertation upon it being too long for this work, especially so near its conclusion, I am obliged to omit, as I am, also, the practical discourses upon the usefulness and advantages of real possession, whether considered one way or other to mankind, all of which I must leave to hereafter.

But to come back to the point in hand, and to consider the injustice done to the Devil, in the various turns and tricks which men put upon him very often in this one article, viz., pretending to possession, and to have the Devil in them, when really it is not so; certainly the Devil must take it very ill to have all their demented lunatic tricks charged upon him; and some of which, nay, most of which, are so gross. so simple, so empty, and so little to the purpose, that the Devil must be ashamed to see such things pass in his name, or that the world should think he was concerned in them.

It is true, that possession, being one of the principal pieces of the Devil's artifice in his managing mankind, and in which, with the most exquisite skill, he plays the Devil among us, he has the most reason to be affronted when he finds himself invaded in this part, and angry, that anybody should pretend to possess, or be possessed, without his leave; and this may be the

reason, for aught we know, why so many blunders have been made, when people have pretended to it without him, and he has thought fit not to own them in it; of which we have many examples in history, as in Simon Magnus, the Devil of London, the Fair Maid of Kent, and several others, whose history it is not worth while to enlarge upon.

In short, possessions, as I have said, are nice things; as it is not so easy to mimic the Devil in that part as it may be in some other; designing men have attempted it often, but their manner has easily been distinguished even without the Devil's assistance.

Thus the people of Salem, in New England, pretended to be bewitched, and that a black man tormented them by the instigation of such and such, whom they resolved to bring to the gallows; this black man they would have to be the Devil, employed by the person whom they accused for a wizard; thus making the Devil a page or footman to the wizard to go and torment whomsoever the said wizard commanded, till the Devil himself was so weary of the foolish part, that he left them to go on their own way; and at last they overacted the murdering part so far, that when they confessed themselves to be wizards and possessed, and that they had correspondence with the Devil, Satan not appearing to vouch for them, no jury would condemn them upon their own evidence, and they could not get themselves hanged, whatever pains they took to bring it to pass.

Thus you see the Devil may be wronged, and falsely accused, in many particulars, and often has been so. There are, likewise, some other sorts of counterfeit devils in the world, such as gipsies, fortune-tellers, foretellers of good and bad luck, sellers of winds, raisers of storms, and many more, some practised among us, some in foreign parts, too many almost to reckon up; nay, I almost doubt, whether the Devil himself knows all sorts of them; for it is evident he has little or nothing to do with them, I mean not in the way of their craft.

These I take to be interlopers, or, with the Guinea merchants' leave, separate traders, and who act under the screen and protection of Satan's power, but without his license or authority; no doubt these carry away a great deal of his trade, that is to say, the trade which otherwise the Devil might have carried on by agents of his own. I cannot but say, that while these people would fain be thought devils, though they really are not, it is but just they should be really made as much devils as they pretend to be, or that Satan should do himself justice upon them, as he threatened to do upon old Parsons, of Clithroe, above mentioned, and let the world know them.

CHAPTER XI.

Of divination, sorcery, the black art, paw-wawing, and such-like pretenders to devilism; and how far the Devil is or is not concerned in them.

Though I am writing the history of the Devil, I have not undertaken to do the like of all the kinds of people, male or female, who set up for devils in the world; this would be a task for the Devil indeed, and fit only for him to undertake; for their number is, and has been, prodigious great; and may, with his other legions, be ranked among the innumerable.

What a world do we inhabit! where there is not only with us a great roaring lion-devil, daily seeking whom of us he may devour, and innumerable millions of lesser devils hovering in the whole atmosphere above us, nay, for aught we know, other millions always invisibly moving about us, and perhaps in us, or at least in many of us; but that have, besides all these, a vast many counterfeit *hocus pocus* devils—human devils, who are visible among us, of our own species and fraternity, conversing with us upon all occasions; who, like mounte-

banks. set up their stages in every town, chat with us at every tea-table, converse with us in every coffee-house. and impudently tell us to our faces, that they are devils, boast of it, and use a thousand tricks and arts to make us believe it too, and that too often with success.

It must be confessed there is a strong propensity in man's nature, especially the more ignorant part of mankind, to resolve every strange thing, or whether really strange or not, if it be but strange to us, into devilism, and to say everything is the Devil that they can give no account of.

Thus the famous doctors of the faculty at Paris, when John Faustus brought the first printed books that had then been seen in the world, or at least not there, into the city, and sold them for manuscripts, they were surprised at the performance, and questioned Faustus about it; but he affirming they were manuscripts, and that he kept a great many clerks employed to write them, they were satisfied for a while.

But looking farther into the work, they observed the exact agreement of every book, one with another, that every line stood in the same place, every page a like number of lines, every line a like number of words; if a word was mis-spelt in one, it was mis-spelt also in all; nay, if there was a blot in one, it was alike in all. They began to muse how this should be! in a word, the learned divines, not being able to comprehend the thing, and that was always sufficient, concluded it must be the Devil; that it was done by magic and witchcraft; and that, in short, poor Faustus, who was indeed nothing but a printer, dealt with the Devil.

N.B.—John Faustus was a servant, or journeyman, or compositor, or what you please to call it, to Koster, of Haerlem, said to be the first inventor of printing; and having printed the Psalter, sold them at Paris as manuscripts, because as such they yielded a better price

But the learned doctors, not being able to understand how the work was performed, concluded as above. it was all the Devil, and that the man was a wizard: accordingly they took him up for a magician and a conjuror, and one that worked by the black art, that is to say, by the help of the Devil; and, in a word, they threatened to hang him for a wizard; and, in order to it, commenced a process against him in their criminal courts, which made such a noise in the world, as raised the fame of poor John Faustus to a frightful height, till at last he was obliged, for fear of the gallows, to discover the whole secret to them.

N.B.—This is the true original of the famous Dr. Faustus, or Foster, of whom we have believed such strange things, as that it is become a proverb.—"As great as the Devil and Dr. Foster;" whereas, poor Faustus was no doctor, and knew no more of the Devil than any other body.

Thus the magistrates of Berne, in Switzerland, finding a gang of French actors of puppet-shows had opened their stage in the town,—upon hearing the surprising accounts which the people gave of their wonderful puppets,—how they made them speak, answer questions, and discourse,—appear and disappear in a moment,—pop up here, as if they rose out of the earth, and down there as if they vanished,—and abundant more feats of art,—censured them as demons; and if they had not packed up their trinkets, and disappeared, almost as dexterously as their puppets, they had certainly condemned the poor puppets to the flames for devils, and censured, if not otherwise punished, their masters.—See the Count de Rochfort's Memoirs, p. 179.

Wonderful operations astonish the mind, especially where the head is not overburthened with brains; and custom has made it so natural to give the Devil either the honour or scandal of everything that we cannot otherwise account for, that it is impossible to put the people out of the road of it.

The magicians were, in the Chaldean monarchy, called the wise men; and though they are joined with the sorcerors and astrologers in the same place, Dan. ii. 2, yet they were generally so understood among those people; but in our language we understand them to be people that have an art to reveal secrets, interpret dreams, foretel events, &c., and that use enchantments and sorceries; by all which we understand the same thing, which now, in a more vulgar way, we express by one general coarse expression—dealing with the Devil.

The Scripture speaks of a spirit of divination, Acts xvi. 16, and a wench that was possessed by this spirit, brought her master much gain by soothsaying; that is to say, according to the learned, by oracling, or answering questions; whence you will see in the margin, that the soothsaying devil is there called Python, that is Apollo, who is often called Python, and who as the oracle of Delphos, gave out such answers, and *double entendres*, as this wench possibly did; and hence all those spirits of divination, were in another sense called Pythons.

Now, when the apostle St. Paul came to see this creature, this spirit takes upon him to declare, that those men, meaning St. Paul and Timotheus, were the servants of His Most High God, which showed unto them the way of salvation. This was a good turn of the Devil, to preserve his authority in the possessed girl, she brought them again by soothsaying; that is to say, resolving difficult questions, answering doubts, interpreting dreams, &c., among these doubts, he makes her give testimony to Paul and Timotheus, to wheedle in with the new Christians, and perhaps, though very ignorantly, even with Paul and Timotheus themselves, so to give a kind of credit and respect to her for speaking.

But the Devil, who never speaks truth, but with some sinister ends, was discovered here, and detected; his flattering recognition not accepted, and he himself unkennelled as he deserved; there the Devil was over-shot in his own bow again.

Here now was a real possession, and the evil spirits who possessed her, did stoop to sundry little acts of servitude, that we could give little or no reason for, only that the girl's master might get money by her; but perhaps this was a particular case, and prepared to honour the authority and power the apostle had over evil spirits.

But we find these things carried a great way farther in many cases; that is to say, where the parties are thus really possessed; namely, the Devil makes agents of the possessed parties to do many things for the propagating his interest and kingdom, and particularly for the carrying on his dominion in the world; but I am for the present not so much upon the real possession as the pretended; and particularly, we have had many that have believed themselves possessed, when the Devil never believed it of them, and perhaps knew them better; some of these are really poor devils, to be pitied, and are what I call *diables imaginaires*, these have, notwithstanding, done the Devil good service, and brought their masters good gain by soothsaying.

We find possessions acknowledged in Scripture to be really and personally the Devil, or according to the text, legions of devils, in the plural. The Devil, or Devil's, rather, which possessed the man among the tombs, is positively affirmed to be the Devil, in the Scripture; all the evangelists agree in calling him so, and his very works show it; namely, the mischief he did, as well to the poor creature among the tombs, who was made so fierce, that he was the terror of all the country, as to the herd of swine, and to the country, in the loss of them.

I might preach you a lecture here of the Devil's terror upon the approach of our Saviour, the dread of his government, and how he acknowledged that there was a time for his torment, which was not yet come:—"Art thou come to torment us before our time?" It is evident the devils apprehended that Christ would chain them up before the day of judgment; and therefore

some think the Devil here, being, as it were, caught out of his due bounds, possessing the poor man in such a furious manner, was afraid, and petitioned Christ not to chain him up for it, and as the text says, "They besought him to suffer them to go away, &c.," that is to say, when they say, "Art thou come to torment us before the time?" The meaning is, they begged he would not cast them into torment before the time, which was already fixed; but that, if he would cast them out of the man, he would let them go away, &c.

The evangelist St. Luke says, the devils besought him, that he would not command them to go out into the deep; our learned annotators think that part is not rightly rendered; adding that they do not believe the Devil fears drowning. But, with submission, I believe the meaning is, that they would not be confined to the vast ocean, where no inhabitants being to be seen, they would be effectually imprisoned and tied down from doing mischief, which would be a hell to them; as to their going into the swine, that might afford us some allegory; but I am not disposed to jest with the Scriptures, no, nor with the Devil neither, farther than needs must.

It is evident the Devil makes use of very mean instruments sometimes, such as the damsel possessed with a spirit of divination, and several others.

I remember a story, how true I know not, of a weak creature, next door to an idiot, who was established in the country for an oracle, and would tell people strange things that should be, long before they came to pass; when people were sick, would tell them whether they should live or die; if people were married, tell how many children they would have; and a hundred such things, as filled the people with admiration, and they were the easier brought to believe that the girl was possessed; but then they were divided about her too, and that was the finest spun thread the Devil could work, for he carried a great point in it; some said she had a

good spirit, and some a bad—some said she was a pro-
phetess, and some that she was a devil.

Now, had I been there to decide the question, I should certainly have given it for the latter; if it were only upon this account, namely, that the Devil has often found fools very necessary agents for the propaga-ting his interest and kingdom, but we never knew the good spirits do so; on the other hand, it does not seem likely that Heaven should deprive a poor creature of its senses, and as it were, take her soul from her, and then make her an instrument of instruction to others and an oracle to declare its decrees by; this does not seem to be rational.

But, as far as this kind of divination is in use in our days, yet I do not find room to charge the Devil with making any great use of fools, unless it be such as he has particularly qualified for his work; for as to idiots and naturals, they are perfectly useless to him; but, for a sort of fools called the magi, indeed we have some reason to think he often works with.

We are not arrived at a certainty yet, in the settling this great point; namely, what magic is? Whether a diabolical art, or a branch of mathematics? Our most learned Lexicon Technicum is of the latter opinion, and gives the magic square, and the magic lantern, two terms of art.

The magic square is, when numbers in arithmetical proportions, are disposed into such parallels, or equal ranks, as, that the sums of each row, as well diagonall as laterally, shall be all equal; for example, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, place these nine in a square of three, they will directly and diagonally make 18. Thus—

5	10	3
4	6	8
9	2	7

This he calls a magic square, but gives no reason for the term, nor any account of what infernal operations are wrought by this concurrence of the numbers; neither do I see that there can be any such use made of it.

The magic lantern, is an optic machine, by the means of which are represented, on a wall in the dark, many phantasms, and terrible appearances, but no devil in all this; only that they are taken for the effects of magic, by those that are not acquainted with the secret.

All this is done by the help of several little painted pieces of glass, only so and so situated, placed in certain oppositions to one another, and painted with different figures, the most formidable being placed foremost, and such as are most capable of terrifying the spectators; and by this all the figures may be represented upon the opposite wall, in the largest size.

I cannot but take notice, that this very piece of optic delusion seems too much akin to the mock possessions and infernal accomplishments, which most of the possessionists of this pretend to; so that they are, most of them, mere phantasms and appearances, and no more; nor is the spirit of divination, the magic and necromancing, and other arts which were called diabolical, found to be of any use in modern practice, at least in these parts of the world; and the Devil seems to do most of his work himself, and by shorter methods; for he has so complete an influence among those that he now lists into his service, that he brings all the common affairs of mankind into a narrow compass in his management, with a dexterity peculiar to himself, and by which he carries on his interest silently and surely, much more to the detriment of virtue and good government, and consequently much more to his satisfaction, than ever he did before.

There is a kind of magic or sorcery, or what else you may please to call it, which though unknown to us, is yet, it seems, still very much encouraged by the Devil, but this is a great way off, and in countries where the

politer instruments, which he finds here, are not to be had; namely, among the Indians of North America.

This is called paw-wawing; and they have their divines, whom they call paw-waws, or wizards, who use strange gestures, distortions, horrid smokes, burnings, and scents, and several such things, which the sorcerors, in ancient times, are said to have used in casting nativities, in philters, and in determining, or as they pretended, directing the fate of persons, by burning such and such herbs and roots, such as hellebore, wormwood, storax, devil-wort, mandrake, night-shade, and abundance more such, which are called noxious plants; or the product of noxious plants; also melting such and such minerals, gums, and poisonous things, and by several hellish mutterings, and markings over them. The like do these paw-waws; and the Devil is pleased it seems, or is permitted to fall in with these things, and as some people think, appears often to them for their assistance upon those occasions.

But, be that as it will, he is eased of all that trouble here. He can paw-waw here himself without their aid, and having laid them all aside, he negotiates much of his business without ambassadors. He is his own plenipotentiary, for he finds man so easy to come at, and so easy when he is come at, that he stands in no need of secret emissaries, or at least not so much as he used to do.

Upon the whole, as the world within the compass of a few years past, is advanced in all kinds of knowledge and arts, and every useful branch of what they knew before improved, and innumerable useful parts of knowledge, which were concealed before, are discovered; why should we think the Devil alone should stand at a stay, take no steps in his farther accomplishment, and make no useful discoveries in his way; that he alone should stand at a stay, and be just the same unimproved devil that he was before? No, no, as the world is improved every day, and every age is grown wiser and wiser than their fathers, so no doubt he has bestirred himself too, in order to an increase of knowledge and

discovery, and that he finds every day a nearer way to go to work with mankind than he had before.

Besides, as men in general seem to have altered their manner, and that they move in a higher and more exalted sphere, especially as to vice and virtue; so the Devil may have been obliged to change his measures, and alter his way of working; particularly those things which would take in former times, and which a stupid age would come easily into, will not go down with us now. As the taste of vice and virtue alters, the Devil is forced to bait his hook with new compositions; the very thing called temptation is altered in its nature; and that which served to delude our ancestors, whose gross conceptions of things caused them to be manageable with less art, will not do now; the case is quite altered. In some things, perhaps, as I hinted above, we come into crime with ease, and may be led by a finger; but when we come to a more refined way of sinning, which our ancestors never understood, other and more refined politics must be made use of; and the Devil has been put upon many useful projects, and inventions, to make many new discoveries and experiments to carry on his affairs; and to speak impartially, he is strangely improved either in knowledge or experiment, within these few years—he has found out a great many new inventions to shorten his own labour, and carry on his own business in the world currently, which he never was master of before, or at least we never knew he was.

No wonder then that he has changed hands too, and that he has left off paw-wawing in these parts of the world—that we do not find our houses disturbed as they used to be, and the stools and chairs walking about out of one room into another, as formerly—that children do not vomit crooked pins and rusty stub nails, as of old; the air is not so full of noises, nor the church-yard full of hobgoblins, ghosts do not walk about in winding-sheets, nor the good old scolding wives visit and plague their husbands after they are dead, as they did when they were alive.

The age is grown too wise to be agitated by these dull scare-crow things which their forefathers were tickled with. Satan has been obliged to lay by his puppet shows and his tumblers, those things are grown stale; his morrice dancing devils, his mountebanking and quacking, will not do now; those things, as they may be supposed to be troublesome to him (and but that he has servants, enough, would be chargeable too), are now of no great use in the management of his affairs.

In a word, men are too much devils themselves, in the sense that I have called them so, to be frightened with such little low-priced appearances as these; they are better acquainted with the old archangel than so, and they seem to tell him they must be treated after another manner, and that then, as they are good-natured and tractable, he may deal with them upon better terms.

Hence the Devil goes to work with mankind a much shorter way, for instead of the art of wheedling and whining, together with the laborious part of tricking and sharping, hurrying and driving, frighting and terrifying, all which the Devil was put to the trouble of before; in short, he acts the grand manner as the architects call it (I dont know whether our free-masons may understand the word, and therefore I may hereafter explain it, as it is to be diabolically as well as mathematically understood). At present my meaning is, he acts with them immediately and personally by a magnificent transformation, making them mere devils to themselves, upon all needful occasions, and devils to one another too, whenever he (Satan) has need of their service.

This way of embarking mankind in the Devil's particular engagement, is really very modern, and though the Devil himself may have been long enough acquainted with the method, and, as I have heard, began to practise it towards the close of the Roman empire, when men began to act upon very polite principles, and were capable of the most refined wickedness, and afterwards

with some Popes, who likewise were a kind of church devils, such as Satan himself could hardly expect to find in the world; yet I do not find that he was ever able to bring it into practice, at least so universally as he does now; but now the case is altered, and, men being generally more expert in wickedness than they were formerly, they suffer the smaller alterations of the species, in being transmigrated; in a word, they turn into devils with no trouble at all hardly, either to the Devil or to themselves.

This particular would want much the less explanation could I obtain a licence from Sir Helebore Wormwood, Bart., or from my Lord Thwartover, Baron of Scoundrel Hall, in the kingdom of Ireland, to write the true history of their own conduct; and how early, and above all, how easily, they commenced devils without the least impeachment of their characters as wise men, and without any diminution of that part of their denomination which established them for fools.

How many mad fellows appear among us every day in their critical juncture of transmigration, just when they have so much of the man left as to be known by their names, and enough of the devil taken up to settle their characters! This easiness of the Devil's access to these people, and the great convenience it is to him in his general business, is a proof to me that he has no more occasion for diviners, magicians, sorcerors, and whatsoever else they please to call these people who were formerly so great with him; for what occasion has he to employ devils and wizards to confound mankind when he is arrived to such perfection of arts as to bring men, at least in these parts of the world, to do it all themselves? Upon this account, we do not find any of the old sorcerors and diviners, magicians or witches, appear among us; not that the Devil might not be as well able to employ such people as formerly, and qualify them for the employment too, but that really there is no need for them hereabout, the Devil having a shorter way, and mankind being

much more easily possessed; not the whole herd of swine were sooner agitated, though there were full two thousand of them together; nature has opened the door, and the Devil has egress and regress at pleasure, so that the witches and divines are quite out of the question.

Nor let any man be alarmed at this alteration in the case, as it stands between mankind and the Devil, and think the Devil having gained so much ground, may in time, by encroachment, come to a general possession of the whole race, and so we should all come to be devils incarnate; I say, let us not be alarmed, for Satan does not get these advantages by encroachment, and by his infernal power of art; no, not at all, but it is the man himself does it, by his indolence and negligence on one hand, and his complaisance to the Devil on the other; and both ways he, as it were, opens the door to him, beckons him with his very hand to come in, and the Devil has nothing to do but to enter and take possession; now if it be so, and man is so frank to him, you know the Devil is no fool, not to take advantage when it is offered him; and therefore it is no wonder if the consequences which I have been just now naming follow.

But let no man be discouraged at this, from reassuming his natural and religious powers, and venturing to shut the Devil out; for the case is plain, he may be shut out; the soul is a strong castle, and has a good garrison placed within to defend it; if the garrison behave well and do their duty, it is impregnable, and the cowardly Devil must raise his siege and be gone; nay, he must fly, or, as we call it, make his escape, lest he be laid by the heels, that is, lest his weakness be exposed, and all his lurking, lying-in-wait, ambuscade tricks; this part would bear a great enlargement, but I have not room to be witty upon him, so you must take it in the gross, the Devil lies in blye-bush, as our country people call it, to watch your coming out of your hold; and, if you happen to go abroad unarmed, he seizes upon, and masters you with ease.

Unarmed! you will say; what arms should I take? What fence against a flail? What weapons can a man take to fight the Devil? I could tell you what to fight him with, and what you might fright him with; for the Devil is to be frightened with several things besides holy water; but it is too serious for you, and you will tell me I am a-preaching, and a-canting, and the like; so I must let the Devil manage you, rather than displease you with talking scripture and religion.

Well, but may not the Devil be fought with some of his own weapons? Is there no dealing with him in a way of human nature? This would require a long answer, and some philosophy might be acted, or at least imitated, and some magic perhaps; for they tell us, there are spells to draw away even the Devil himself; as in some places they nail horse-shoes upon the threshold of the door to keep him out; in other places, old pieces of flint, with so many holes, and so many corners, and the like; but I must answer in the negative; I do not know what Satan might be scared at in those days, but he is either grown cunninger since, or bolder; for he values none of these things now. I question much whether he would value St. Dunstan and his red-hot tongs, if he was to meet with him now, or St. Francis, or any other of the saints, no not the host itself in full procession; and therefore, though you do not care I should preach, yet in short, if you are afraid he should charge upon you, and attack you, if you won't make use of the Scripture weapons I should have mentioned, and which you may hear of, Eph. vi. 16, you must look for better where you think you can find them.

But to go on with my work, the Devil, I say, is not to be scared with mankind, nor does he employ his old instruments, but does much of his work himself without instruments.

And yet I must enter a caveat here too, against being misunderstood, in my saying the Devil stands in no need of agents; for when I speak so, I am to be taken in a limited sense; I do not say he needs them nowhere,

but, only, that he does not need them in those polite parts of the world which I have been speaking of, and perhaps not much here, but in many remote countries it is otherwise still; the Indians of America are particularly said to have witches among them, as well in those countries where the Spaniards, and the English, and other nations, have planted themselves, as amongst those where the European nations seldom come; for example, the people of Canada, that is, of the countries under the French government of Quebec, the Esquimaux, and other northern climates, have magicians, wizards, and witches, whom they called pilloatas, or pillotoas; these pretend they speak intimately and familiarly with the Devil, and receive from him the knowledge of things to come; all which, by the way, I take to be little more than this;—that these fellows, being a little more cunning than the rest, think that, by pretending to something more than human, they shall make the stronger impressions on the ignorant people; as Mahomet amused the world with his pigeon, using it to pick peas out of his ear, and persuaded the people it brought him superior revelations and inspirations from Paradise.

Thus, these pillotoas, gaining an opinion among the people, behave like so many mountebanks of hell, pretending to understand dark things, cure diseases, practise surgery, physic, and necromancy, all together; I will not say, but Satan may pick out such tools to work with, and I believe does in those parts; but I think he has found a nearer way to the wood with us, and that is sufficient to my present purpose.

Some would persuade me, the Devil had a great hand in the religious breaches in France among the clergy; viz., about the Pope's constitution *Unigenitus;* and that he made a faint attempt to set the Pope and the Galatian church together by the ears; for they were all just upon the point of breaking out into a church war, that, for aught we know, might have gone farther than the Devil himself cared it should. Now I am of

quite the contrary opinion; I believe the Devil really did not make the breach, but rather healed it, for fear it should have gone so far among them as to have set them all in a flame, and have opened the door to the return of the Huguenots again, which it was in a fair way to have done.

But be it one way or the other, the historical part seems to be a little against me; for it is certain, the Devil both wanted, and made use of, legions of agents, as well human as infernal, visible and invisible, in that great and important affair; and we cannot doubt but he has innumerable instruments still at work about it.

Like as in Poland, I make no question but the Devil has thousands of his banditti at work at this time; and in another country not far from it, perhaps preparing matters for the next general diet, taking care to prevent giving any relaxation to the Protestants, and to justify the moderate executions at Thorn, to excite a nation to quarrel with everybody who are able to fight with nobody; to elect the apostate race of S——y upon a throne which they have no title to, and turn an elective throne into an hereditary one, in favour of Popery.

I might anticipate all your objections, by granting the busy Devil at this time employing all his agents and instruments (for I never told you they were idle and useless) in striving to inflame the Christian world, and bring a new war to overspread Europe; I might, perhaps, point out to you some of the measures he takes, the provocatives which his state-physicians administer to the courts and counsellors of princes, to foment and ferment the spirits and members of nations, kingdoms, empires, and states, in the world, in order to bring these glorious ends of blood and war to pass; for you cannot think but he that knows so much of the Devil's affairs, as to write his history, must know something of all these matters more than those that do not know so much as he.

But all this is remote to the present case; for this is no impeachment of Satan's new methods with mankind,

in this part of the world, and in his private and separate capacity; all this only signifies, that, in his more general and national affairs, the Devil acts still by his old methods; and when he is to seduce or embroil nations he, like other conquerors, subdues them by armies, employs mighty squadrons of devils, and sends out strong detachments, with generals and generallissimos to lead them, some to one part of the world, some to another some to influence one nation, some to manage and direct another; according as business presents, and his occasions require, that his affairs may be carried on currently, and to his satisfaction.

If it were not thus, but that the Devil by his new and exquisite management, of which I have said so much, had brought mankind in general to be the agents of their own mischiefs, and that the world were so at his beck, that he need but command them to go and fight, declare war, raise armies, destroy cities, kingdoms, countries, and people; the world would be a field of blood indeed, and all things would run into confusion presently.

But this is not the case at all; Heaven has not let go the government of the creation to his subdued enemy, the Devil; that would overturn the whole system of God, and give Satan more power than ever he has, or will be vested with. When, therefore, I speak of a few forward wretches in our day, who, are so warm in their wickedness, that they anticipate the Devil, save him the trouble to tempt, turn devils to themselves, and gallop hellward faster than he drives; I speak of them as single persons, and acting in their own personal and private capacity; but when I speak of nations and kingdoms, there the Devil is obliged to go on in the old road, and act by stratagem, by his proper machinery, and to make use of all his arts, and all his agents, just as he has done in all ages, from the beginning of his politic government to this day.

And if it was not thus too, what would become of all his numberless legions, of which all nations have heard

so much, and all parts of the world have had so much fatal experience? They would seem to be quite out of employment, and be rendered useless in the world of spirits, where it is to be supposed they reside; not the Devil himself could find any business for them, which, by the way, to busy and mischievous spirits, as they are, would be a hell to them, even before the time; they would be, as it were, doomed to a state of inactivity, which we may suppose was one part of their expulsion from blessedness, and the creation of man; or as they were for the surprising interval between the destruction of mankind by the deluge and Noah's coming out of the ark, when indeed they might be said to have nothing at all to do.

But this is not Satan's case; and, therefore, let me tell you too, that you may not think I treat the case with more levity than I really do, and than I am sure I intend to do; though it is too true, that our modern and modish sinners have arrived to more exquisite ways of being wicked than their fathers, and really seem, as I have said, to need no devil to tempt them; nay, that they do Satan's work for him, as to others also, and make themselves devils to their neighbours; tempting others to crimes even faster than the Devil desires them, running before they are sent, and going the Devil's errands gratis; by which means, Satan's work is, as to them, done to his hand, and they may be said to save him a great deal of trouble; yet, after all, the Devil has still a great deal of business upon his hands, and as well himself, as all his legions, find themselves a good employment in distributing the world, and opposing the glory and kingdom of their great superior, whose kingdom it is their whole business, however vain in its end, to overthrow and destroy, if they were able, or at least to endeavour it.

This being the case, it follows of course, that the general mischiefs of mankind, as well national and public, as family mischiefs, and even personal (except as before excepted) lie still at the Devil's door, as much as ever, let his advocates bring him off if they can :—

And this brings us back again to the manner of the Devil's management, and the way of his working by human agents, or, if you will, the way of human devils working in affairs of low life, such as we call divination, sorcery, black art, necromancy, and the like; all which, I take to consist of two material parts, and both were necessary for us to be rightly informed of.

1. The part which Satan by himself, or his inferior devils, empowers such people to do, as he is in confederacy with here on earth, to whom, he may be said, like the master of an opera or comedy, to give their part to act, and to qualify them to act it; whether he obliges them to a rehearsal in his presence, to try their talents, and see that they are capable of performing, that indeed I have not inquired into.

2. That part which these empowered people do volunteer, or beyond their commission, to show their diligence in the service of their new master; and either,—1. To bring grist to their own mill, or make their market of their employment in the best manner they can; or,—2. To gain applause, be admired, wondered at, and applauded, as if they were ten times more devils than really they are.

In a word, the matter consists of what the Devil does by the help of those people, and what they do in his name without him. The Devil is sometimes cheated in his own business; there are pretenders to witchcraft and black art, whom Satan never made any bargain with, but whom he connives at, because at least they do his cause no harm, though their business is rather to get money, than to render him any service; of which I gave you a remarkable instance before.

But to go back to his real agents, of which I reckon two:—

1. Those who act by direction and confederacy, as I have said already, many do.

2. These whom he acts in and by, and they perhaps know it not; of which sort history gives plenty of examples, from Machiavel's first disciple, to the famous

Cardinal Alberoni, and even to some more modern than his eminence, of whom I can say no more till farther occasion offers.

1. Those who act by the immediate direction of the Devil, and in confederacy with him; these are such as I mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, whose arts are truly black, because really infernal. It will be very hard to decide the dispute between those who really act thus in confederacy with the Devil, and those who only pretend to it, so I shall leave that dispute where I found it; but that there are, or at least have been, a set of people in the world, who really are of his acquaintance, and very intimate with him; and though, as I have said, he has much altered his schemes, and changed hands of late, yet that there are such people, perhaps of all sorts; and that the Devil keeps up his correspondence with them, I must not venture to deny that part, lest I bring upon me the whole *posse* of the conjuring and bewitching crew, male and female, and they should mob me for pretending to deny them the honour of dealing with the Devil, which they are so exceedingly willing to have the fame of.

Not that I am hereby obliged to believe all the strange things the witches and wizards, who have been allowed to be such, nay, who have been hanged for it, have said of themselves, nay, that they have confessed of themselves, even at the gallows; and if I come to have occasion to speak freely of the matter, I may perhaps convince you, that the Devil's possessing power is much lessened of late; and that he is either limited, and his fetter shortened more than it has been, or that he does not find the old way, as I said before, so fit for his purpose as he did formerly, and therefore takes other measures; but I must adjourn that to a time and place by itself. But we are told that there are another sort of people, and perhaps a great many of them too, in whom, and by whom, the Devil really acts, and they know it not.

It would take up a great deal of time and room, too

much for this place, so near the close of this work, to describe and mark out the involuntary devils which there are in the world; of whom it may be truly said, that really the Devil is in them, and they know it not. Now, though the Devil is cunning and managing, and can be very silent, where he finds it for his interest not to be known, yet it is very hard for him to conceal himself, and to give so little disturbance in the house, as that the family should not know who lodged in it; yet I say, the Devil is so subtil and so mischievous an agent, that he uses all manner of methods and craft, to reside in such people as he finds for his purpose, whether they will or no; and, which is more, whether they know it or not.

And let none of my readers be angry, or think themselves ill used, when I tell them, the Devil may be in them, and may act them, and by them, and they not know it; for I must add, it may, perhaps, be one of the greatest pieces of human wisdom in the world, for a man to know when the Devil is in him, and when not; when he is a tool or agent of hell, and when he is not: in a word, when he is doing the Devil's work, and under his direction, and when not.

It is true this is a very weighty point, and might deserve to be handled in a more serious way than I seem to be talking in all this book; but give me leave to talk of things my own way, and withal to tell you, that there is no part of this work so seemingly ludicrous, but a grave and well weighed mind may make a serious and solid application of it, if they please; nor is there any part of this work in which a clear sight and a good sense may not see, that the author's design is that they should do so; and, as I am now so near the end of my book, I thought it was meet to tell you so, and lead you to it as far as I can.

I say it is a great part of human wisdom, to know when the Devil is acting in us, and by us, and when not; the next, and still greater part, would be to prevent him;—put a stop to his progress,—bid him go

about his business,—and let him know he should carry on his designs no farther in that manner,—that we will be his tools no longer; in short, to turn him out of doors, and bring a stronger power to take possession; but this, indeed, is too solid a subject, and too great to begin with here.

But now, as to the bare knowing when he is at work with us, I say, this, though it is considerable, may be done, nor is it so difficult; for example, you have no more to do but look a little into the microcosm of the soul, and see there, how the passions—which are the blood, and the affections—which are the spirits, move in their particular vessels; how they circulate, and in what temper the pulse beats there; and you may easily see who turns the wheel. If a perfect calm possesses the soul; if peace and temper prevail, and the mind feels no tempest rising; if the affections are regular, and exalted to virtuous and sublime objects, the spirits cool, and the mind sedate, the man is in a general rectitude of mind; he may be truly said to be his own man; Heaven shines upon his soul with its benign influences, and he is out of the reach of the evil spirit; for the divine spirit is an influence of peace—all calm and bright, happy and sweet, like itself, and tending to everything that is good, both present and future.

But, on the other hand, if at any time the mind is ruffled; if vapours rise, clouds gather; if passions swell the breast; if anger, envy, revenge, hatred, wrath, strife; if these, or any of these, hover over you, much more if you feel them within you; if the affections are possessed, and the soul hurried down the stream to embrace low and base objects; if those spirits, which are the life and enlivening powers of the soul, are drawn off to parties, and to be engaged in a vicious and corrupt manner, shooting out wild and wicked desires, and running the man headlong into crime;—the case is easily resolved;—the man is possessed, the Devil is in him, and having taken the fort, or at least the counterscarp and out-works, his making his lodgment

to cover and secure himself in his hold, that he may not be dispossessed.

Nor can he be easily dispossessed when he has got such hold as this; and it is no wonder, that being lodged thus upon the out-works of the soul, he continues to sap the foundation of the rest; and, by his incessant and furious assaults, reduces the man at last to surrender.

If the allegory be not as just and apposite as you would have it be, you may, however, see by it in a full view, the state of the man, and how the Devil carries on his designs; nothing is more common, and I believe there are few thinking minds but may reflect upon it in their own compass, than for our passions and affections to flow out of the ordinary channel; the spirits and blood of the soul to be extravasated, the passions grow violent and outrageous, the affections impetuous, corrupt, and violently vicious; whence does all this proceed? From Heaven we cannot pretend it comes. If we must say it is the Devil, whose door must it lie at? Pride swells the passions; avarice moves the affections. And what is pride, and what is avarice, but the Devil is in the inside of the man? aye, as personally and really as ever he was in the herd of swine.

Let not any man, then, who is a slave to his passions, or who is chained down to his covetousness, pretend to take it ill, when I say he has the Devil in him, or that he is a devil. What else can it be; and how comes it to pass that passion and revenge so often dispossess the man of himself, as to lead him to commit murder, to lay plots and snares for the life of his enemies, and so to thirst for blood? How comes this but by the Devil's putting those spirits of the soul into so violent a ferment —into a fever, that the circulation is precipitated to that degree, and that the man too is precipitated into mischief, and at last into ruin? It is all the Devil, though the man does not know it.

In like manner, avarice leads him to rob, plunder, and

destroy, for money, and to commit, sometimes, the worst of violences to obtain the wicked reward. How many have had their throats cut for their money? have been murdered on the highway, or in their beds, for the desire of what they had? It is the same thing in other articles; every vice is the Devil in a man. Lust of rule is the Devil of great men; and that ambition is their Devil, as much as whoring is Father ——'s devil; one has a devil of one class acting in him, one another; and every man's reigning vice is a devil to him.

Thus the Devil has his involuntary instruments, as well as those who act in confederacy with him; he has a very great share in many of us, and acts us, and in us, unknown to ourselves, though we know nothing of it, and indeed, though we may not suspect it ourselves; like Hazael, the Assyrian, who, when the prophet told him how he would act the Devil upon the poor Israelites, answered, with detestation, "Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this thing?" and yet he was that dog, and did all those cruel things for all that; the Devil acting him, or acting in him, to make him wickeder than ever he thought it was possible for him to be.

THE CONCLUSION.

Of the Devil's last scene of liberty, and what may be supposed to be his end; with what we are to understand of his being tormented for ever and ever.

As the Devil is Prince of the Power of the Air, his kingdom is mortal, and must have an end; and he is called the God of this world, that is, the great usurper of the homage and reverence which mankind ought of right to pay to their Maker, so his usurpation also, like the world itself, must have an end. Satan is called the God of the world, as men too must prostrate and prostitute themselves to him; yet he is not the Governor of this world; and therefore the homage and worship he has from the world is an usurpation; and this will have an end; because the world itself will have an end; and all mankind, as they had a beginning in time, so must expire, and be removed before the end of time.

Since then the Devil's empire is to expire, and come to an end; and, that the Devil himself, and all his host of devils, are immortal seraphs, spirits that are not embodied, and cannot die, but are to remain in being: the question before us next will be, what is to become of him? What is his state to be? Whither is he to wander? and in what condition is he to remain to that eternity to which he is still to exist?

I hope no man will mistake me so much in what I have said as to spirits, which are all flame, not being affected with fire, as if I supposed there was no place of punishment for the Devil, nor any kind of punishment that could affect them; and so of our spirits also, when transformed into flame.

I must be allowed to speak there of that material fire, by which, as by an allegory, all the terrors of an eternal state are represented to us in Scripture, and in the writings of the learned commentators, and by which the pain of sense is described. This, perhaps, I do not understand as they seem to do, and therefore have said.

When we are all flame (that is, all spirit), we shall all fire (that is, all such fire as this) despise. And thus I claim to be understood.

It does not follow from hence, neither do I suggest, or so much as think. that infinite power cannot form a something (though inconceivable to us here) which shall be as tormenting, and as insupportable to a devil, an apostate seraph, and to a spirit though exalted, unembodied, and rarified into flame, as fire would be to other bodies; in which I think I am orthodox, and do not give the least occasion to an enemy to charge me with profane speaking, in these words, or to plead for thinking profanely himself.

It must be atheistical to the last degree, to suggest, that whereas the Devil has been heaping up and amassing guilt ever since the creation of man, increasing in hatred of God, and rebellion against him, and in all possible endeavour to dethrone and depose the Majesty of Heaven; that yet Heaven had not prepared, or could not prepare, a just penalty for him; and that it should not all end in God's entire victory over hell, and in Satan's open condemnation. Heaven could not be just to its own glory, if he should not avenge himself upon this rebel, for all his superlative wickedness in his modern as well as ancient station; for the blood of so many millions of his faithful subjects and saints whom he has destroyed; and if nothing else offered itself to prove this part, it would appear undoubted to me. But this, I confess, does not belong to Satan's history, and therefore I have reserved it to this place, and shall also be the shorter on it.

That his condition is to be a state of punishment, and that by torment, the Devil himself has owned;

and his calling out to the blessed Lord, when he cast him out of the furious man among the tombs, is a proof of it :—"What have we to do with thee; and, art thou come to torment us before the time?"—Luke viii. 28, where the Devil acknowledges four things, and three of them are directly to my present purpose; and, if you will not believe the word of God, I hope you will believe the Devil, especially when it is open confession against himself.

1. He confesseth Christ to be the son of God (that by the way), and no thanks to him; for that does not want the Devil's evidence.

2. He acknowledges he may be tormented.

3. He acknowledges Christ was able to torment him.

4. He acknowledges that there is a time appointed when he shall be tormented.

As to how, in what manner, and by what means this tormenting of the Devil is to be performed or executed, that I take to be as needless to us as it is impossible to know: and, not being at present inclined to fill your heads and thoughts with weak imperfect guesses, I leave it where I found it.

It is enough to us, that this torment of the Devil is represented to us by fire; it being impossible for our confined thoughts to conceive of torment by anything in the world more exquisite; whence I conclude, that devils shall at last receive a punishment suitable to their spirituous nature, and as exquisitely tormenting as a burning fire would be to our bodies.

Having thus settled my own belief of this matter, and stated it so, as I think will let you see it is rightly founded, the matter stands thus:—

Satan having been let loose to play his game in this world, has improved his time to the utmost; he has not failed, on all occasions, to exert his hatred, rage, and malice, at his conqueror and enemy, namely, his Maker; he has not failed, from principles of mere envy and pride, to pursue mankind with all possible rancour, in order to deprive him of the honour and felicity which

he was created for, namely, to succeed the Devil and his angels in the state of glory from which they fell.

This hatred of God, and envy at man, having broken out in so many several ways in the whole series of time from the creation, must necessarily greatly have increased his guilt; and, as heaven is righteous to judge him, must terminate in an increase of punishment adequate to his crime, and sufficient to his nature.

Some have suggested, that there is yet a time to come, when the Devil shall exert more rage, and do more mischief, than ever yet he has been permitted to do. Whether he shall break his chain, or be unchained for a time, they cannot tell, nor I neither; and it is happy for my work, that even this part too does not belong to his history. If ever it shall be given an account of by mankind, it must be after it is come to pass; for my part is not to prophecy or foretel what the Devil shall do, but to give the history of what he has done.

Thus, good people, I have brought the history of the Devil down to your own times; I have, as it were, raised him for you, and set him in your view, that you may know him, and have a care of him.

If any cunninger man among you think they are able now to lay him again, and so to dispose of him out of your sight, that you shall be troubled no more with him, either here or hereafter, let them go to work with him their own way; you know things future do not belong to an historian; so I leave him among you, wishing you may be able to give no worse account of him for the time to come, than I have done for the time past.

LONDON:

LEWIS AND SON, PRINTERS, FINCH-LANE, CORNHILL.

A SELECT LIST

OF

Cheap and Standard Works,

PUBLISHED BY

THOMAS ALLMAN,

42, HOLBORN HILL, LONDON.

		s.	d.
A STRING OF PEARLS, by Bishop Hall		1	0
Abbott's Works, viz.:—			
„	Corner Stone	1	6
„	Way of Salvation	1	0
„	Hoary Head and the Valleys Below	1	6
„	Young Christian	1	0
„	Way to do Good	1	0
„	Teacher	1	0
„	Fireside Piety	1	0
„	China and the English	1	0
„	Mother at Home	1	0
„	Child at Home	1	0
„	Little Philosopher	1	0
„	Path of Peace	1	0
„	Every-Day Piety	1	0
	Caleb in Town	1	0
„	Caleb in the Country	1	0
„	McDonner, or Truth through Fiction	1	0
„	School Boy, or a Guide for Youth	1	0
„	Way for a Child to be Saved	0	6
„	Early Piety	0	6

	s.	d.
Æsop's Fables	1	6
Baxter's Saints' Rest	1	6
Berquin's Children's Friend	1	6
Bloomfield's Poems	1	0
Book of Family Worship	1	6
Bourrienne's Life of Napoleon	2	0
Boy's Own Story Book	1	6
Bremer's (Miss) Domestic Life	1	6
„ Strife and Peace	1	6
„ President's Daughters	1	6
Brown's Concordance	1	6
Brougham, Life of Lord	2	0
Buchan's Domestic Medicine	2	0
Buffon's Natural History (200 engravings)	2	0
Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress (15 cuts)	2	0
Butler's Hudibras	2	0
Burns' Youthful Piety	1	0
Burke on the French Revolution	2	0
Byron's Choice Works, containing the Corsair, Bride of Abydos, Lara, Giaour, Childe Harold, &c.	1	6
„ Don Juan	1	6
Castle of Otranto and Old English Baron	1	6
Cecil's Life of Newton	1	0
Clarke's Scripture Promises	1	6
Cowper's Poems	2	0
Crabbe's Poems	1	0
Death-Bed Triumphs of Eminent Christians	2	0
Dodd's Beauties of Shakspeare	1	6
Doddridge's Rise and Progress	1	6
Domestic Cookery, by Mrs. Rundell	2	0
DOMESTIC SANCTUARY, by B. Clark	2	0
Dryden's Virgil	2	0

	s.	*d*
Evans's Sketch of all Religions . . .	2	0
Fawcett's Christ Precious . . .	1	6
Foxe's Protestant Martyrs	2	0
Franklin's Life and Essays . . .	1	0
GIL BLAS (new edition)	3	0
Gulliver's Travels	1	6
Heber's Poems	1	6
Heman's Domestic Affections . . .	1	6
Hervey's Meditations	2	0
Interesting and Religious Anecdotes .	1	6
Jenks' Family Prayers and Devotions . .	1	6
Joyce's Scientific Dialogues (many cuts) .	2	0
Junius's Letters	1	6

Juvenile Books for Children, 1*s.* each, viz.:—

OUR GRANDMAMA'S CLOCK.
OUR GRANDPAPA'S CHEST.
Pretty Little Poems.
PRETTY LITTLE HYMNS.
Pretty Little Stories.
Juvenile Tales.
Juvenile Rambles.
Juvenile Keepsake.
Boston Boys.
The Young Sailor.
Anecdotes of the Chinese.
Ingenuity and Simplicity.
Resignation and Resolution.
Truth and Duty.
Tales for the Young.
" of my Uncle.
" Aunt.
" Grandfather.
" Grandmother.

	s.	d.
Life of Dr. Adam Clarke	1	6
Locke on the Understanding & Bacon's Essays	1	0
Longfellow's Poetical Works . . .	1	6
Memoirs of Mrs. Rogers	1	6
„ Newall . . .	1	6
MILTON'S Poetical Works . . .	2	0
MORE'S (Hannah) Works (9 vols.) each	1	6
PARK'S Travels in Africa	1	6
Paul and Virginia	1	6
POPE'S Homer's Iliad	2	0
„ „ Odyssey . . .	2	0
„ Poetical Works	2	0
Scott's Lady of the Lake . . .	1	6
„ Marmion	1	6
„ Rokeby	1	6
„ Lay of the Last Minstrel . . .	1	0
SIGOURNEY'S Scenes in my Native Land	1	6
„ Pleasant Memories of Pleasant Lands	1	6
SMITH'S (Rev. J.) **STREAMS IN THE DESERT**	2	0
„ **RAINBOW OF COVENANT**	2	0
Stowe's Tales and Sketches from Real Life .	1	6
Tales of the Genii	2	0
Three Experiments of Living . . .	1	6
Todd's Student's Manual . . .	1	6
„ Sunday-School Teacher . . .	1	6
Treasury of Wit	1	6
Vicar of Wakefield	1	0
WARS OF ENGLAND	2	0
Washington, Life of General . . .	2	0
Wellington, Life of His Grace the Duke of	2	0
Young's Night Thoughts	1	0